DR. SCHLIEMANN
MR. HEINRICH
THE EARLY YEARS
1822 - 1846
WOUT ARENTZEN
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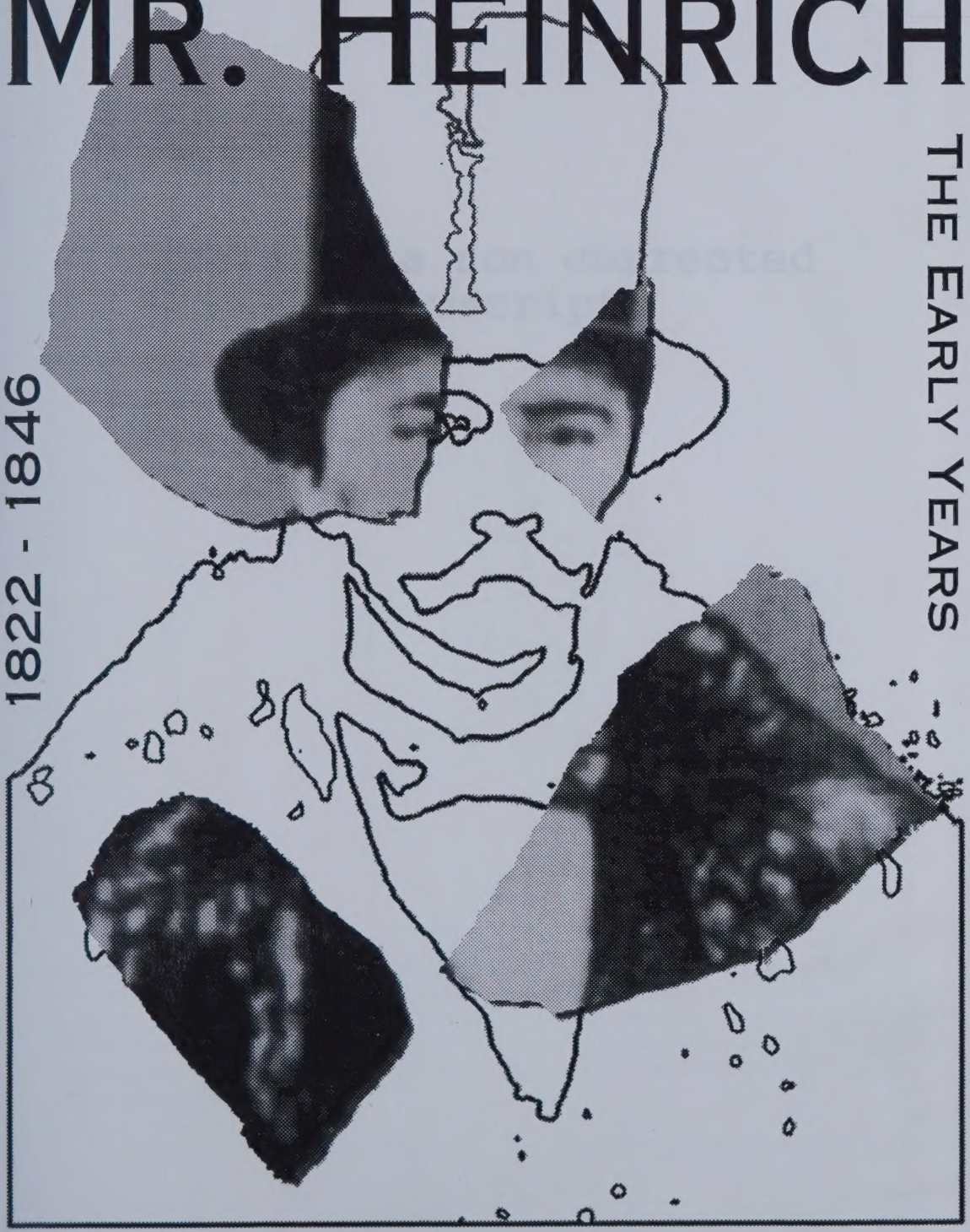

WOUT ARENTZEN

1999

This is a non corrected
manuscript.

"And still the figure had no face by which he might know it; even in his dreams it had no face, or one that baffled him and melted before his eyes; and thus it was that there sprang up and grew apace in the lawyer's mind a singularly strong, almost an inordinate, curiosity to behold the features of the real Mr. Hyde. If he could but once set eyes on him, he thought the mystery would lighten and perhaps roll altogether away, as was the habit of mysterious things when well examined."

Robert Louis Stevenson - The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde.

Preface

For somebody who had a relatively small talent for the beautiful letters, Schliemann had an extra ordinary drive to turn his live into literature. This may seem a strange remark about a man who thanks his fame to his work as an archeologist. Archeology has little or nothing in common with literature. Archeological writing belongs to the realm of fact were literature belongs to the realm of fiction. Even when archeologist venture in to the realm of fiction, they do this, when it's good, with there feet planted in facts. In a good archeological work we can always distinguish the facts from the theory. The reason that there are a number of problems, when talking about Schliemann, originate in the fact that he, as a good number of his contamperaties, used two genres in one book. He wrote about archeology and he wrote about him self. Now autobiography is an absolute literary genre, in which fiction is presented in such a way that the reader should believe that it's fact. It's however clear that the autobiography is not a historical study, it's a picture of the live of the author in the way he wants the public to see him. It's the chaos of his everyday life turned into a meaningful story, turned into a lesson, or into what ever fasinates the author. The reader should be aware of this and that is extra true when such a piece of fiction is incorporated in a book, that is meant to deal with facts. So when we talk about Schliemann's writings we should always wonder which Schliemann we're talking about, the author or the archeologist.
When we look at the majority of articles that still apear about him we can wonder if his fame is really to thank to his archeological work or that his lasting popularity is based on his literary work. It's undoubtedly true, that he is one of the fathers of modern archeology, but, except from some specialist, there is now a days nobody who reads his archeological works. If he still excites us, than that is mainly thanks to his autobiographical writings. It was and it his fascinating story about his live that inspired countless people in the past and still excites numerous people to day. It's his literary work that has survived until to day and it's his literary work that has inspired a large number of writers and artist and the way in which these are brought to us by a good number of biographers. He had a blunt pen, but he brought his adventures in such a way, that they have become classics. The poor boy that did everything to find the fabled city and succeeded in the end. Once the absolute pedagogical lessen for the youth, now a prove for those that believe that you can get what ever you want if only you put your will behind it. The basic human dream. From newspaper boy to millionaire and further. The absolute makebility of life, the conquest of all obstacles, the final victory. And they all lived happily ever after.
In this study I won't occupy my self with Schliemann the archeologist. I will keep my self to his formative years, 1822 - 1846. I like to warn those people who like to read a biography, they will not find a "living" Schliemann in these pages, they will not even find my picture of his character here. I've not tried to bring the man back to live. I leave that up to the reader, who believes that he's capable to do a thing like that, or else he should read one of the many Schliemann biographies that already exist. I will only try to sketch a picture of what most likely happened and how Schliemann treated this in his autobiographical work and letters. Since all sources by definition are incomplete and all interpretation is subjective, I don't claim to tell the absolute trues. I have used all material, concerning these years, that I could find, but it's quite good possible that there is more, and that the picture will change as soon as it becomes available.

Since William M. Calder III in 1972 held his now famous midnight reading in Neubukow [1]) it has become a fashion to state a moral judgement on Schliemann. The once hero has become a villain. In some authors this moral judgement has reached the hight of indignation.

"... I simply can see NO excuse for a scientist - even a quasi scientist like S[chliemann] - to lie. Self-made men may take their chances on loosing money in business by being unscrupulous, if they want to, but as I see it, they do not have a license to lie to the world ..." [2])

Now I don't believe that its the task of a cultural historian to judge and so I leave that too to the reader.
While translating the sources, that are in dutch, german, french and italian I have tried to keep as much of the voice of the original author a live as I could. Thanks to the fact that I can't read russian I had to use translations of these sources and I'm not sure in how far the original voice is still to be heard in them. Contrary to what Schliemann told his readers he was not, in 1846, really fluent in the langues that he used, but it seems that his french was slightly better than his english, with I have tried to show in my translation. However, those people that want to know how Schliemann's comment on his different languages really was, have to realize that English is not my first language and that some of the peculiarities in this translation may find there origin in me. As for the contents of the translations I'm fully convinced that I gave it the treatment that it needed and that the thoughts of the different authors have survived my translation.
Nobody can go far into the live of Schliemann without reading the books and articles that others have written about him and so I like to thank all authors that have helped and inspired me. Here I only want to mention on of those articles, that to me proved the most important, Donald Easton's The Schliemann Papers [3]). This article opened the door to quite a lot of little known Schliemann information. Special thanks I have for the librarians of the Bibliotheek van de Universiteit van Utrecht, de Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Den Haag, het Gemeente Archief voor de Stad Amsterdam, het Maritiem Museum in Rotterdam, het Spoorweg Museum in Utrecht, the Schroder Archive in London and Dr. Carl. August Schröder. Extra grateful I am to Dr. W. Bölke and the Heinrich Schliemann Museum Ankershagen, who made it financially possible for me to obtain micro films from the Genadius Library in Athens. Without the help of this archive this study would have been imposable and so it's thanks to them and especially Dr. Natalia Vogeikoff that I was able to shed some new light on Schliemann's early life.

Wout Arentzen, Utrecht 1999

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1) In a slightly altered form to be found in: Calder, William M. III; Schliemann on Schliemann: A Study in the Use of Sources. Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 13. 1972 pp.335-353

2) Marcelle Robinson in a personal letter from January 8, 1995 to the author.

3) Easton, Donald; The Schliemann Papers. Annual of the British School at Athens 77. 1982. pp. 93-110.

A child of the romantic era

"I was born on the 6th of January, 1822, in the little town of Neu Buckow, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, where my father, Ernst Schliemann, was Protestant clergyman, and whence, in 1823, he was elected in that capacity to the parish of the village of Ankershagen between Waren and Penzlin, in the same duchy. In that village I spent the eight following years of my life; and my natural disposition for the mysterious and the marvellous was stimulated to a passion by wonders of the locality in which I lived." 4)

Not to far from Ankershagen, in Greifswald, lived, at that moment, one of the most characteristic of the german romantic painters: Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840). Also not to far from there, in Weimar, the king of the german romantic poets, Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) held court. In his paintings Caspar David Friedrich showed the spirit of this age. Man, as a small and insignificant creature, a midst the all domineering and chaotic nature. Not the great out doors that we know, not the breath taking beauty, but the domain of the big bad wolf, that was always ready to eat little red riding hood. Man is small and certainly not the ruler of his world. When we take a look at "Waldinneres bei Mondschein" (1823-30) we see a gigantic, dark forest, with in the lower corner some little figures, pressed together around a small fire. They are hardly able to hold them self in the picture, and it is clear that they are totally subjected to the forces of the dark and all powerful forest. Even in Friedrich's less obviously doom ridden paintings we can see the seem basic idea. Take for instance "Der Mönch am Meer" (1808-10). In this painting the sea is calm and not really threatening, but the monk is only a small spot on the beach. Even if nature is at rest in this painting, it's all over powering and we can wonder if the monks religion will be able to save him as soon as this sea changes it's mood. Friedrich, like all artist, was somewhat one sided in his vision of the world. Not all of the world was covered with this threatening wild nature. Man had already been fighting it for centuries and centuries and had brought larger parts of it, more or less, under his control. I purposely say more of less, cause the romantics knew that they would never be able to really control nature. At best they could control it to a certain degree, but it could show its hostile face at any moment again. If we read Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea" we can see how easy it was for tamed nature to become threatening again.

"But let us now go down through the wine mount and the garden; see a heavy thunder-storm is coming here, lightning flashing and soon devouring the lovely full moon. And so they stood up and walked down, into the field, through the mighty corn, glad about the nightly clarity; when they had reached the wine mount they stepped into the dark. And so he guided her down the many plates, that were laid down unworked, and served as steps of a stairway. Slowly she strode down warts, her hands on his shoulders; and with, through the leaves, wavering lights the moon looked down on them, before he, covered by thunder-storm clouds, left this couple. Carefully the strong supported the girl, that walked next to him; but see, unknown with the

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4) Schliemann, Heinrich: Ilios, the city and country of the Trojans. (1881) Reprint Edition 1976 by Arno Press Inc. p. 1

hill and the rough steps, missed a step, cracked a foot, she threatened to fall." [5])

Arthur von Ramberg. Heimkehr beim Anzug des Gewitters

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5) Goethe; Hermann und Dorothea

Nature is unpredictable and dangerous. On the one hand it gives man what he needs to stay a live, but on the other hand it can take a way that same live in a snap. Only by supporting each other man can defend him self against the destructing powers of nature. Since nature is nothing but an all threatening chaos man can only defend him self against it by organization. As an individual man is powerless against the forces of nature, only as a collective he has a chance. Only an organised society is save. This organization, however, will only hold as long as the individuals, that belong to it, accept it as "normal", as "natural". In this way a society developed in which every individual had its own place.

"For all birds there are bird-whistles, and every man is in its own way directed and tempted. Nature, education, surrounding and habit kept me separated of all rough, and even if I often touched with the lower classes, especial with the manual labourers, it never came to a closer relation." 6)

The romantic era can be characterised as a highly structured society that is conscious of its own vulnerability. Life is under control, but danger lurks in every dark corner. Danger is always there and it has its own special pull, it calls and fascinates. Schliemann too seems to have been under its spell.

"... my natural disposition for the mysterious and the marvellous was stimulated to a passion by the wonders of the locality in which I lived. Our garden-house was said to be haunted by the ghost of my father's predecessor, Pastor von Russdorf; and just behind our garden was a pond called 'das Silberschälchen', out of which a maiden was believed to rise each midnight, holding a silver bowl." 7)

This was a society that on the one hand was highly structured and fixed and on the other hand fascinated by the chaotic forces of nature, that often became supernatural. As a defence against the all over powering forces, that threatened him, man build a world for him self in which everyone and everything had its fixed position. A world that was predictable and in that way save. Outside the storm was raging, but inside one set well protected by a cosy fire. Father smoked his pipe, mother darned some socks and the children played quietly in the corner. This was the pinnacle of homely happiness. The problem, however, was how to reach this ideal world. How did the father find the right mother for this kind of happiness. The great sexuality driven passionated love belongs to the realm of nature. It turns the lovers into lust ridden creatures who are blind for reason. The lover drowns in the eyes of the object of his passion and is unable to see his or her position in society. In this way the individual can easily get into trouble. No its not passion that points out the road to real and lasting happiness. Only the mind can do that. A good marriage is an arranged marriage between social equals. In such an arranged marriage, were everyone knew from the beginning what was expected of him or her, it was possible to keep the socially excepted division between man and woman without to much trouble. In those days paternalism found its culminating-point in the middle and higher classes. Man was the master, the leader of his family and the leader of society. The differentiation in labour between the sexes is probably biologically determined by the carrying time of the mother. In this period her possibilities of collecting food for her self become smaller equality to the development of her pregnancy. To secure a good pregnancy its in the interest of the father to make sure that the carrier of his offspring is well fed. It probably finds a second ground in the long nursing time a human

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6) Goethe; Aus meinem Leben. Wahrheit und Dichtung. Erster Theil, Fünftes Buch.

7) Ilios p. 1

child needs before it can successfully take care of it self. Since the period of the nursing of one child often will have coincided with the carrying of an other child, it will have been in the interest of the father to keep on providing for the mother. Since it however often will have been hard for the father to do all the providing on his own, the mother was forced to help him as well as see was able to. When this is really the mechanism that forms the basis for the labour division between man and woman, it is understandable that, when the possibilities of the man, to provided for his family became better, more of this task would go to him. With the development of society the man in this way got the function of provider for his family. In the end this made for a rigorous division between male and female, a division in which males became the rulers of family and world and females became the providers of children and the ornament, by which the male showed how successful he was. Even while this labour division in the beginning will have been of great value for woman it became highly suffocating for them in the end. Since nobody, in those days, understood the reason that brought this system into being and since man had found in it a way to show off there success, they needed a rational explanation to enforce it. Now the human mind is a wonderful instrument, it needs no reality to find an answer, it can invent its own reality and so it soon became a dogma that woman were intellectual inferior to man. Even otherwise highly original minds could not always see beside this dogma.

"Woman seems to differ from man in mental disposition, chiefly in her greater tenderness and less selfishness; and this holds good even with savages, as shown by a well-known passage in Mungo Park's Travels, and by statements made by many other travellers. Woman, owing to her maternal instincts, displays these qualities towards her infants in an eminent degree; therefore it is likely that she would often extend them towards her fellow-creatures. Man is the rival of other man; he delights in competition, and this leads to ambition which passes too easily into selfishness. These latter qualities seem to be natural and unfortunate birthright. It is generally admitted that with woman the powers of intuition, of rapid perception, and perhaps of imitation, are more strongly marked than in man; but some, at least, of these faculties are characteristic of the lower races, and therefore of a past and lower state of civilisation. The chief distinction in the intellectual powers of the two sexes is shown by man's attaining to a higher eminence, in whatever he takes up, than can woman - whether requiring deep thought, reason, or imagination, or merely the use of the senses and hands. If two lists were made of the most eminent men and women in poetry, painting, sculpture, music (inclusive both of composition and performance), history, science, and philosophy, with half-a-dozen names under each subject, the two lists would not bear comparison. We may also infer, from the law of the deviation from averages, so well illustrated by Mr. Galton, in his work on 'Hereditary Genius,' that if men are capable of a decided pre-eminence over women in many subjects, the average of mental power in man must be above that of woman." 8)

Woman had there good sides, but they were inferior to man and had no possibility to become there equals. Religion gave a second basis for this believe.

"Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
The infernal serpent; he it was, whose guile,
Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived

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8) Darwin, Charles; The Desent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex. Second Edition 1874. London 1901 pp. 857-858

The mother of mankind, ..." [9])

Had God not created Eve to give Adam a companion? And how had Eve thanked God and treated Adam. It had been Eve who had picked the apple and seduced Adam to eat from it. It was Eve who was responsible, that man was expelled from paradise. It was Eve who had sinned and brought hardship on the world and so it was the obligation of man to guide and protect her daughters, that naturally had the sinful inclination of the mother. And there God had given man a new model. He had given them Maria, the mother of his son, to show them how a good woman had to behave. There was a fundamental difference between Eve and Maria. The first was naked and followed her lust, the second was chaste and followed her God. She was the virgin, who bore a son. And so it was clear that even while nature had made her sinful, it was possible for woman to be good. This difference was determined by sexuality and lust. A good woman had no lust and had only sex to bless her husband with children. So here too we see the division between nature as a thread and social structure, with all its prohibiting laws, as a defence against the powers of nature. In the live of Ernest Schliemann we can see this battle raging and it is the undoing of Schliemann's youth. In his official autobiography Schliemann only gives us a hint.

"When I was hardly nine years old, my dear mother died: this was an irreparable misfortune, perhaps the greatest which could have befallen me and my six brothers and sisters. But my mother's death coincided with another misfortune, which resulted in all our acquaintances suddenly turning their backs upon us and refusing to have any further intercourse with us." [10])

To understand Schliemann's youth it's important to see what lays hidden behind these lines. Ernst Schliemann was born in 1780. He visited the Gymnasium in Altona, near Hamburg, and afterwards studied theology, not out of calling, but because he expected it to bring him a good living. In 1811 he became senior master in Sternberg. Here he found his wife, Louise Therese Sophia Bürger, in the 13 year younger daughter of his rector. In how far this was a love match is unclear, but she certainly was a good catch being of a slightly higher status as he himself was. Ernst Schliemann lived by the words of the apostle Paul. "A woman should be silent and can only, since woman have brought sin into the world, become blessed by producing children." And so Louise Schliemann became five times pregnant in eight years. In 1814 Ernst Schliemann became vicar in Neubukow and it was there that Heinrich was born on January 6th. 1822. Neubukow wasn't to wealthy a parish and so Ernest kept its eye open for one that promised him a better income. In 1823 he saw his opportunity when the parish of Ankershagen needed a new vicar. Ankerhagen clearly promised a higher income and so Ernest left nothing to chance.

"On the 11 of May three candidates had to present them self, in the church [of Ankershagen] to the perish members of Ankerhagen, Wendorf, Pieverstorf, Dambeck, Bocksee, Klockow, Möllenhagen and Rethwisch, with a sermon, in a free election. The protestant leader of this district, Francke, guided this election. Ernest Schliemann, who was 42 years old by then, was unanimously chosen as the next vicar. Of the 153, in the election protocol, by name, mentioned votes, there were 150 for the father of Heinrich Schliemann. Rarely an election gives such a overwhelming majority and Francke gave as the ground for this the pedagogic and rhetoric qualities, which were obvious in Ernest Schliemann's sermon. ... He could not

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9) Milton; Paradise Lost

10) Ilios p. 5

know that Ernest Schliemann had given 200 Reichstaler to Müller, the local hunter, 'so that he should talk to and entertain the people so that they would vote him to be there vicar'." 11)

It might be that Ernest pedagogic and rhetoric qualities were higher than was to be expected of a vicar in his position, but than they were nothing but pedagogic and rhetoric qualities. In reality Ernest Schliemann had great problems with the morals that he preached. These problems came to a first hight in 1831. Louise Schliemann was pregnant of her ninth child. Against her wish Ernest brought a new maid in the house, Sophie Schwarz. This girl was socially unacceptable, since she had an unlawful child and was known for her sinful ways. There is no prove that Ernest Schliemann really had a relation with her at this moment, but it is clear that he became the talk of the village. It's also clear that Louise Schliemann wasn't to happy with here live. Somewhere in November 1830 she wrote the following lines to her eldest daughter:

"[Tank you?] for the loving feelings, that you, good child, now seems to have towards me, and with which you have gladden and a rouse your abandoned mother ... The days, that will come, you can think at any moment, that I am in a fight between life and death. When you get a massage of the last, do not mourn to much, but be glad, that my suffering has come to an end, in this unthankful world, were everything is enduring, and asking and praying, in silence, to god for a change in my hard fate does not help ... When god however will help me to survive my painful years and when my life afterwards maybe once more will be so that I can be happily and glad among people, I will promise you to wear the beautiful cap often... I have to close now, I am busy slaughtering the pig and it all gets to much for me." 12)

Louise's prayer was not answered. Two weeks after the birth of her son Paul she died on March 22, 1831. Soon afterwards it became clear to the whole village that Sophie Schwarz filled the now vacant place in Ernest bed. In 1841 Heinrich Schliemann visited Sophie in Hamburg and in a letter to his sisters he led her speak about her motivations.

"... she asked after father, I answered that he had married again, which made her enormously angry, she however was soon quiet again and said: 'an eternal curse rest on him, it is impossible that it will go well, since millions of times he has sworn to marry me. Really Heinrich did she go on, not I, no father is guilty of all, I would to day still serve in Ankershagen, or would have married a labourer and certainly would be happy and content, when he had not send me away under holly swears, promises and oaths. I know. she continued philosophical, I am the reason, but not the fault of the whole unhappiness of your family; certainly you all and a thousand others look with abhorrence on me and damn me, my self consciousness, my own inner judge, however, tells me: you are totally free of all guild! Nobody, she said after a small pause, is able to have a righteous verdict about an other person when he can not think himself in the position of that other, or without knowing the other completely. I was a poor village girl, dishonoured and violated by a servant, I was long past the marrying age and so had no hope of getting a man. I was a completely uneducated girl, and could, while I could not read or write, never become anything but a maid. With sad eyes I

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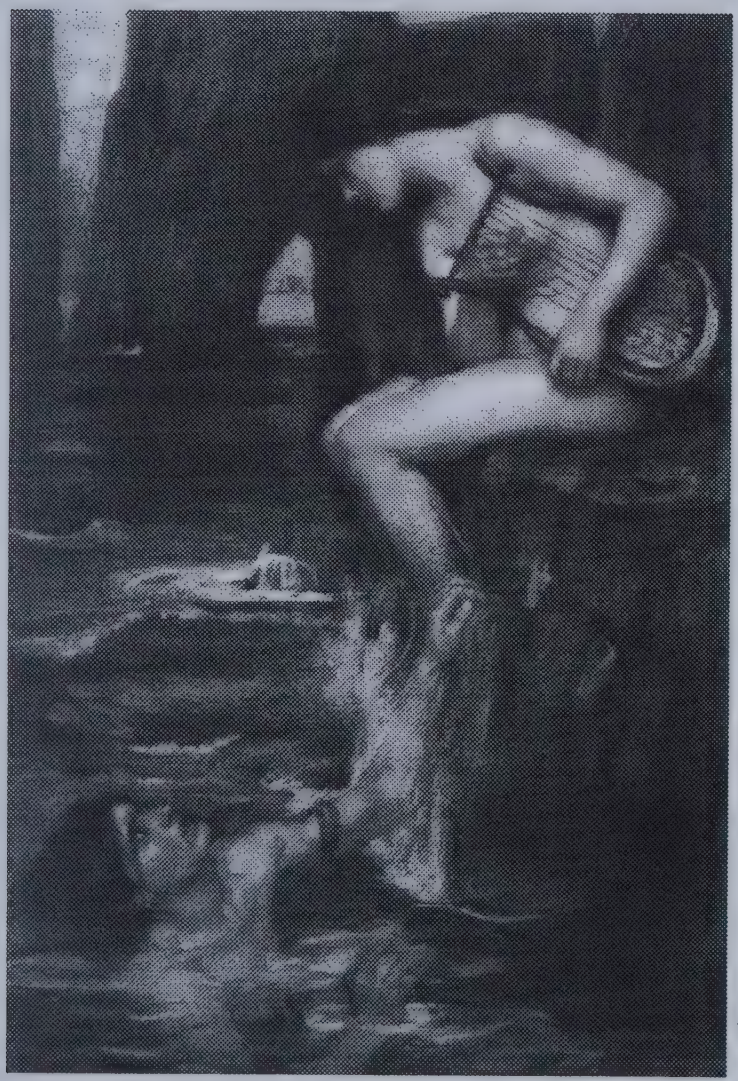
11) Crepon, Tom/Bölke, Wilfried; Heinrich Schliemann, Odyssee seines Lebens. Berlin 1990. p. 12

12) Ludwig, Emil; Schliemann, Geschichte eines Goldsuchers. Berlin 1932. p. 41. Unfortunately Ludwig gives no source for this quote. Since the rest of this letter is unknown to me it's contents is somewhat unclear. I take it Louise Schliemann thanked her daughter for a cap she had received from her.

saw into the future and there a honoured man who was generally respected by all, to which thousands attentively listened, when he spoke the word of the all mighty, there a preacher spoke to me of his love. He swore by everything that was holly that he would marry me, he gave me beautiful presents. He had me tutored in everything, the most brilliant prospects for the future were presented to me. I, that was so much in disrespect, that even the lowest servant was ashamed to talk to me, I now should become a member of the educated classes, I should become the mother of an educated and respected family, I should become the mother of thousands so as he was the father, I should become a vicars wife. Blinded by this I bowed to his wishes and so happened what has happened and now is not to be changed again." 13)



John Willam Waterhous.
The Siren.

13) Bölke, W.: Die Anklage der Sophie Schwarz. Mitteilungen aus dem Heinrich-Schliemann-Museum Ankershagen. Heft 2. 1988. pp. 55-56. This is part of a letter that Heinrich Schliemann wrote to his sisters Wilhelmine and Doris, dated Amsterdam February 20. 1842. The larger part of this letter is to be found in: Meyer, Ernst; Heinrich Schliemann Briefwechsel. I. Band. Berlin 1953. Meyer had left this part out as being unimportant.

We have to remember that this account was not written by Sophie Schwarz her self, but by Heinrich Schliemann and so it's not a real first hand account, but it is the best we have from the inside. All other accounts deal with the steps that were taken to get Ernest Schliemann out of his vicarage after his flock refused to recognize the sinful man any longer as there spiritual leader. There was a long drawn process in which nothing against the vicar could be proven while he had send his love in hiding. It is unclear if Ernest really thought that he could get away with it after his conduct had become the talk of the town, but it was clear from the beginning that the higher classes, who controlled him, wanted to get rid of him. Ernest Schliemann had rejected the grace of his own Maria and had fallen for the temptations of Eve. What other answer could there be, he had to leave his paradise. And so the father went down while he followed the chaotic demands of his nature and didn't fit in the pattern that was socially expected of him.

An exercise in reading and logic

In the early nineteens century nobility was still the top of society. Those families that traced there ancestry to brave soldiers, that had helped there kings in long forgotten battles, or mythical dragon slayers. There importance and power was based on the hereditary possession of land. However, since the seventeens century, a new class had come to power. A class of wealthy traders, that made there money through the transportation of raw materials. In the nineteens century the wealth of this group too had become mainly hereditary, but they had brought the idee in the world that it was possible to better ones social position, by cleaver trading and making a lot of money. And so if a wealthy man wanted to show the world how good he really was, what better story could he tell, than that of a poor childhood. From rags to riches all on his own power. So we don't have to wonder that a good number of rich people in those days wrote autobiographies that run along this line.
Heinrich Schliemann's first autobiography is to be found in the diary of his american trip from 1850-51. It was not published during his life time and it is unclear why he wrote it. Strait at the beginning we can see that he picked up on the rags to riches idea.

"I was born on 25th December, 1821/6 January, 1822, in Ankershagen, a small village in Mecklenburgh Schwerin, Germany, where my father was clergyman. Like all or nearly all clergymen, my father had nine children and no money, and his time being very much taken up by his duty, he was unable to procure me or to give me any education. So it happened that I went to school at the village sexton's together with the peasant boys, the constant companions and associates of the earlier part of my life." [14])

When Schliemann, in 1880, wrote his official autobiography, he, however left the theme of his poor childhood out, but that didn't metter. His biographers gladly helped him out here and brought this theme back into his life.

"He maintained the contrary, whilst I remained firm in my opinion, and at last we both agreed that I should one day excavate Troy. [15])
These words of Heinrich Schliemann belong to the, by his biographers, most quoted remarks and are used up to this day as proof for an early matured, determined and ambitious young man - *coming from poor circumstances* - who in early years takes an destiny shaping decision, which he as a ripe man, in the middle of his live, carries out and doing so enters

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14) Webber, Shirley H.; Schliemann's first visit to America, 1850-1851. Harvard Univerity Press. 1942. p. 3. Schliemann gives his birth date as well according to the western as to the russian calender and so we can suspect that he (also) had a russian public in mind when he wrote it. He gives the wrong birth place, something which we also find on to passports that were made for him by Consul Quack in Amsterdam on the 28/10/1943 and 8/1/1846. These passports are to be found in the Gennadius Library in Athens

15) Ilios p. 3

into history" [16])

"In many a respect Schliemann was really the new homo americanus, who, in the meaning of Horatio Algers, had worked him self up from depressing poverty and made more than one fortune ..." [17])

This rags to riches theme partly explains the popularity of Schliemann's autobiography. Generations of parents have given this book to there children. It was considered as highly educational, since it's massage was so easy. See children if you are nice and work hard all your dreams will come true. We can however question if it's true. What were the financial circumstances in which he was brought up.

Heinrich-Schliemann-Museum Ankershagen

"The vicarage of Ankershagen is seen as one of the riches in the land. Based on knightly grants from the middle ages the total landed property of the church is 48000 Quadratruten, which is 104 hectares, containing fields, meadows and the fish rich 'Priestersees'. The biggest part of these lands is leased to the estates of Ankershagen, Friedrichsfelde and Wendorf and pays the vicarage a yearly in come of about 1200 Reichstalern. Which is a reasonably large sum of money." [18])

Poverty and riches are, as soon as the existence minimum is provided for, relative concepts. One feels poor or rich in relation to the spending possibilities of the people with whom one

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16) Bölke Odyssee p. 24 Italics are mine.

17) Deuel, Leo; Heinrich Schliemann, Eine Biographie Mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten. (Original title: Memoirs of Heinrich Schliemann, New York 1977) München Wien 1979. p 15.

18) Bolke odyssee p. 13

lives. So when we want to know how rich or poor young Heinrich must have perceived him self in his childhood days we have to compare his circumstances with those of the people he came in contact with. Mecklenbourg abandoned, as one of the last german states, serfdom in 1820. On paper the serfs had become free man, but since non of them had any land the feudal situation had not really change. One can even argue that it had become worse. The only option for the former serfs had been to become day labourers and in this way they had become even more dependent on the estate owners than they had been. In the days of serfdom the owners had been obliged to feed them all year round, but now they only had to pay them for the days on which they worked. Most of the inhabitance of Ankershagen were day labourers and in this way dependent for there survival on the owner of the Ankerhagen estate. Most of the inhabitants of Ankershagen will, in those days, have lived with hunger on there door steps on the border line of existence. That this was not only the case in Ankerhagen, but holds true for all of Mecklenbourg, is made clear by the large number of people that left this country after this had became possible with the abandonment of serfdom.

"The reason for this massive over sea relocation was the unsure future in the hopelessly backwards political, economical and social circumstances of both the Mecklenburg grand dutchess. The less privileged inhabitants were less and less in the position to except there professional and political limitations, at least those among them that were healthy, ambitious, intelligent, cleaver and brave. These expected - anyway the majority of them - in a possibility rich land, were capitalism was only in its first stages and not hold back by feudal relicts, a, until than not known, possibility for development and realization of there life plans. Such possibilities must have been a big enough alternative for the inhabitants of such a backwards feudal class state as Mecklenburg was to give up there homeland. And so it is of no surprise that among all who left germany, the inhabitants of Mecklenburg formed per cent wise the largest group." 19)

So a large percentage of Ernest Schliemann's flock will have had almost no influence on there circumstances and will have lived at the edge of existence for ever hoping that the estate owner had a job for them. For the vicar him self the situation was totally different, he had a fixed income from the church lands. In the eyes of most of his sheep the vicar must have looked a rich man. On the other hand, compared to the estate owners the vicar will have been some what less well of. So in the end the Schliemanns belonged, in Heinrich early youth, to the middle class and it all comes down to how Ernest thought about it him self and how Heinrich will have perceived it. In Schliemann's "official" autobiography we find some tale telling remarks.

"Though my father was neither a scholar nor an archaeologist, he had a passion for ancient history. He often told me with warm enthusiasm of the tragic fate of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and seemed to consider him the luckiest of men who had the means and time to visit the excavations which were going on there." 20)

Now we have to consider that this is an autobiography that was written as an introduction to an archeological book. It's not a first hand report and we have no prove that Ernest Schliemann was interested in excavations, but it tells us that his financial situation was such that he did not belong to the happy few, that could made such trips. These lines however bring

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19) Richter, Wolfgang; Schliemanns Aufbruch nach Übersee im Jahre 1841 und die mecklenburgische Auswandererbewegung. Das Altertum Bd. 36. 1990. Heft 4. p. 243

20 Ilios p. 3

us to a more revealing remark.

"My joy may be imagined, therefore, when, being nearly eight years old, I received from him, in 1829, as a Christmas gift, Dr. Georg Ludwig Jerrer's Universal History, with an engraving representing Troy in flames, ..." [21])

While this book, according to Schliemann, became the reson for his lifes work, there has been quite a lot of descussion about it. Had he really had this gift or not. For us here that is of no importance. For us it only shows that Schliemann was of the opinion, when he wrote his autobiography, that in his youth there had been or could have been christmas presents. Now we can wonder how many of the sons of Ankerhagens day labours will have had a book or any other bought object for christmas in 1829? This ofcourse is nothing but a supposition by me, but I believe that Schliemann must have belonged to a minority of the boys of Ankerhagen, that in later live remembered that there parents gave them presents for christmas. This in it self is to me prove that the Schliemann family concidered them self as resanably well of, as being able to give small luckuries to there children in such a way that one of them later felt it as quit normal and only mentioned it for the contents and not for the fact that he had gotten a present. There are more hints that the Schliemann's were an ordenairy middle class family. The children were trained in at least one of those technieks, that only middle and higher class people had to learn in order to improve there changes for a good mariage.

"In the winter of 1829-30 we took lessons in dancing together, alternatively at my little bride's house, at ours, and in the old haunted castle, then occupied by farmer Mr. Heldt, ..." [22])

And so it's clear that the Schliemann children were educated for a middle class life and did not perceive there status in live as poor. Ernest Schliemann too lived a some what extravagant live. Since it were his hormones that brought him to it, it's not completely clear if this was voluntary or not, fact how ever is that he could afford him self things that others in his direct surrounding could not. As we have seen Sophie Schwarz had given her self to Ernest Schliemann while he promised her a bright future. She was a poor girl that at best could hope to find a position as a common maid. The possibility of becoming a vicars wife look great to her, in that way she could come up in the world. As we have seen it's not completely clear when the relation between Ernest and Sophia started. Most authors believe that it had started before Louise Schliemann had died. I'm not so sure about that since under those circumstances Sophia would have known that a marriage promise of Ernest Schliemann was worthless, since he already was married. Something a maid can't overlook. On the other hand it's quit good possible that she only used the marriage promise to plead her self clean in the eyes of the son and in that case it's clear that even an illicit relation with the vicar was tempting enough for the poor girl. It's however unimportant when this relation started. Clear is that the vicar could obtain this girl with nice gifts and sweet words. Since sweet words are cheap the gifts will certainly have been a great help. Here again we can wonder how many man, living in Ankershagen at that moment, were able to pay for a mistress. We can wonder how far envy was a part of the village disapprovement of his sinful behaviour. When this whole adventure came to a high and the authorities took Ernest Schliemann to court he made his mistress disappear. Now it's not so easy to make a mistress disappear if

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21) Ilios p. 3

22) Ilios p. 4

you have no money. There must be something in it for the girl and those that help in keeping her from view. During his first visit to Hamburg Schliemann visited some friends of his father. Here he gets some information about what happened in those days.

Ernst Schliemann

"... than she told that father had hid this girl which her mother in law in B[.?.] for a number of years, but since it was possible that she was found there, had send her to them in Altona, after he had offered to pay them large board-wages. ... Schwarz had always gotten valuable presents, as well in money as in luxury articles, from father and always counted out to them how long it still would take before she became the vicars wife. Here cloth were always like those of a princes, dresses of the heaviest Atlas, pricely shawls of Sammet or silk etc. were what she daily wore." [23])

Now even if we take this all with a grain of salt, it's clear that Ernest Schliemann could keep a mistras, what ever this may have done for his houshold purse. This last however will not have efected young Heinrichs few of the world. By then he had left home.

"... my father sent me for two years to his brother, the Reverend Friederich Schliemann, who was the pastor of the village of Kalkhorst in Mecklenburg, where for one year I had the good fortune of habving the candidate Carl Andres from Nei Strelitz as a teacher; ..." [24])

Since Friederich Schliemann had his children and young Heinrich taught privately we can be

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23) Bolke Mitteilungen 2 p. 55

24) Ilios p. 6

sure that he too wasn't poor.
As an end conclusion we can say that at least up to 1833 young Heinrich lived a comfortable middle class live and so certainly was not of poor beginnings. Up to this year his future will have look bright and free of poverty.

Schooldays.

Since the middle ages education had been a tool in the hands of theology, that was used only sparsely. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the education of the people was mainly done by the different churches. Since they clearly didn't give it a high priority it was in the hands of rather badly educated priests and vicars. Because these teachers them self had only been trained a little in latin, this was the only foreign language that was taught to most of there pupils. Since the renaissance however a new class of intellectuals had come into being. They had loosened them self from theology and had started to look around for a new source of inspiration. While doing this they reinvented greek antiquity. As far as germany is concerned it was Johann Joachim Winckelmann who became a major influence. The german born Winckelmann lived in Rome and occupied him self with the study of greek antiquity by way of roman copies. For Winckelmann the apex of all culture were the classic greeks. This was not just an accident, this had to be, it was the consequence of one of the laws of nature.

"The build of the face is as different as the languages, yes like the dialects and these are the tools of reason. In cold countries the nerve of the tongue has to be tighter and slower as in warm countries. When different people of Greenland and America have no letters than this has to be the reason." 25)

So nature is the all deciding factor. The people from southern europe have better faces and so they can better talk and so they can better think. It's all quite easy to understand.

"Where nature is less covered by haze and heavy mist it gives to the body a more developed form ..., in Greece it will have developed man to its most definite form." 26)

Many of Winckelmann's followers took this piece of "evidence" serious and came to the conclusion that greek was the best language to think in. Without the knowledge of greek it was impossible to understand anything of real importance. Since only the higher and wealthier classes were able to afford them self a greek education there more and more became a rift between the education of the masses and the neo humanistic ideals of the happy few. This division between the two intellectual planes became absolutely clear during the Napoleonic wars in which Prussia was defeated. This was translated the intellectuals of the conglomerate of german speaking nations as the leaking of a german identity. If they really wanted to play a part in the larger european politics they had to unite. To unite however they needed one german people and so the education of the masses, or at least the middle classes became of some importance. The different states, and/or the one future state, needed loyal inhabitants, that felt that they were part of this state. Such loyal inhabitants were only to be obtained by education. All inhabitants should have the same education and so in the end become one. And so they came to the question of the contents of this education. What should a young boys (they never thought about girls) learn to become a good citizen. The organization of this new

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25) Winckelmann, Johann; Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums. Dresden 1764. pp. 19-20

26) Winckelmann p. 129

educational scheme came in the hands of Wilhelm von Humboldt. This is some what strange since Wilhelm von Humboldt was an independent intellectual, who didn't really believe in the importance of the state. He had some revolutionary traits and his own ideas about the importance of education.

"Von Humboldt pictured him self a society in which education and not property or birth made for the right of freedom and citizenship. He was of the opinion that the french revolution had failed while there had not been, at the same time, an intellectual revolution in man." [27])

Not withstanding these, for those days, some what heretic ideas, Von Humboldt's scheme was accepted and became the official cultural politic for education in the Prussian state and by this had its influence in the educational systems of all other german states. From now on every educated german had to be able to read ancient greek and so was expected to be able to think deep thoughts. The Gymnasium was the school in which these qualities were to be learned and soon it became impossible to get any (higher) state job for any one who had no gymnasium diploma. From what Schliemann tells us in his autobiography it is clear that he too should be educated along these lines. If Schliemann ever went to an ordinary primary school is unclear. He probably received his basic education at home. This at least, as we have seen, was the case when he was with his uncle in Kalkhorst. Here Schliemann clearly was made ready for the Gymnasium

W. Riefstahl. Gymnasium "Carolinum" Neustrelitz

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27) Quillien, Jean; W. de Humboldt et la Grèce, Modèle et Histoire. Lille 1983. p. 52

"At the age of eleven I went to the Gymnasium at Neu Strelitz, were I was placed in the third class. But just at that time a great disaster befel our family and, being afraid that my father would no longer have the means of supporting me for a number of years, I left the gymnasium after being in it only three month, and entered the "Realschule" of the same city, ..., which I left in April 1836, ..." [28])

Schliemann probably stayed a little longer on this Gymnasium than he tells his readers since the process against his father did not come to a provisional end until July 9, 1834. By this date Ernest Schliemann was cleaned of all accusations by leak of evidence, but, not with standing that, was suspended from his vicarage, because the rumours around him had damaged the image of his church. [29]) By this Ernest Schliemann lost his yearly income and Heinrichs future became some what grim. Without a Gymnasium education all higher jobs would be closed to him. We can however wonder if they had already given up all hope by this date. It seems that Ernst Schliemann still believed that he could win, he went on with his process, and probably saw this verdict only as a temporary set back. This more or less becomes clear if we see Schliemann's Autumn report of 1835.

"From Easter to Autumn 1835

Behaviour:	excellent
Religion:	good
Geometry and Arithmetic:	good, but it becomes harder to understand for him when a higher effort is required
Physics and Chemistry:	mainly insufficient, here too he has to think for him self
Natural history:	satisfactory, he shows participation
Geography:	passable
History:	content
German language:	the essays were normally worked at with diligence
French language:	content
Latin:	not good, the translations are superficial and copied [30])
English language:	passable
Drawing:	slowly
Reading:	unimportant
Writing:	pleasing progress
Missed:	22 lessons

In his report for easter 1836 we find the following remarks:

History:	content, but some what confused, which shows it self especially in the repetition
German language:	the essays are diligently made, but leak clarity of thought." [31])

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28) Ilios p. 6

29) Bolke Mitteilungen 2 pp. 43-53

30) Prof. William M. Calder III doubts if Schliemann's latin ever got any better. An unpublished latin vita. The Classical World 67. 1974. "... The Latin is excellent. Indeed, because the Latin is so much better than the Greek and because we have no other example of Schliemann's Latin, I wonder whether the translation is his own."

31) Meyer, Ernst; Mecklenburgischen Monatsheften 10, 1934. p. 211

The remarkable fact here is that Schliemann was not only taught in the modern languages, but also in Latin. Normally the "Realschule" distinguished it self from the Gymnasium in that they taught no Latin and Greek. It would probably have been possible for Schliemann to pick up his Greek after finishing this school and so get access to a higher status in live again. How ever in 1836 the financial situation of Ernest Schliemann had not bettered it self. The investigations still went on and he still was suspended. It was not until 1838 that he was bought out and got some money again, but by then young Heinrichs school days were over and he had missed his chance to get up in the world. The only alternative way, to reach anything of a top position, open to him, was a business career. In any other job he could be sure that he would always stay at the lowest level.

"I was employed in the little grocer's shop at Fürstenberg for five years and a half; ..." [32)]

Since he was reared as a middle class boy in a village of mainly lower class neighbours, he must have had the feeling that he belonged to the higher strata of society and so his, thanks to the bad conduct of his father, not being able to reach, what must have seen as his rightful place, must have somewhat embittered him. Clear is that his relation to his father, during the rest of his live, never was without tension.

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32) Ilios p. 6

The first steps into the world

Schliemann has left the world a remarkable large paper legacy. Of a good number of events we have more than one account and that while we, up till now, have only studied part of this legacy. Of the Fürstenberg period however we have very little to go by. According to his autobiography these were unhappy days that came to an unhappy end. In his first biography these days of misery ended in a very tragic way:

"... it happened that by lifting too heavy a cask of cichory, a blood-vessel sprung in my lungs and I got a heavy blood-spitting, which rendered me incapable for all sorts of hard work. My patron, seeing that in my broken health I could not [be] of any more use to him, took an apprentice in my place, and turned me out. In spite of my small emoluments I had spared about 30 Prussian dollars, which besides a few old clothes were all the property I could boast of in this world. Half in despair, I walked off for Hamburg, which distant only 30 German miles (or 210 wersts), and nevertheless I wanted 10 days to make this tour." [33])

In his "official" biography the whole story gets a bit less tragic.

"There seemed, however, no hope of my escaping from the hopeless and humble position in which I found myself. And yet I was relieved from it, as if by a miracle. In lifting a cask too heavy for me, I hurt my chest; I spat blood and was no longer able to work. In despair I went to Hamburg, ..." [34])

In the first large letter that Schliemann, in 1842, wrote to his sisters we, however, get a totally different story.

"I had a contract with M. Antmann Türke from Türkhof by Lychen, like I wrote you from Fürstenberg, to sail with him and his two sons, my old school friends, on July the 25 with the Hamburger Paket-Schiff Howard, Captn. P.N. Paulsen, to New-York in North America. Nothing came of this while father refused to give his consent to this undertaking." [35])

So, according to this letter, Schliemann had clear plans to leave Fürstenberg. This leaves us with the question of which account is the right one. More light on this question is thrown by a letter from Ernest Schliemann to his son.

"Gehlsdorf April 30, 1841
... I have already given myself a lot of trouble to secure you, like you wish, an office position in Rostock, unfortunately up till now for nothing! Now however I have asked for help at one of the most important houses there and I hope to be able to write you some agreeable message

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33) Weber p. 4

34) Ilios p. 7

35) Meyer, Ernst; Heinrich Schliemann, Briefwechsel. Part I. Berlin 1953. p. 9

about this soon, especially since I have committed my self to a substantial surety for you on which I have received very reliable promises. Of this already could happen before the next 'Johannis' [June] is unclear and so I felt very sad to hear from you, that you like to leave your job already with Johannis. I was also very sad to hear that you personally had written to mercantile houses in Rostock, this will lead to nothing and will be very disadvantageous for your wished for position and besides it will cost money! If you follow my well meant fatherly advise you stay on your post until you get a position in Rostock through me. If you, in all enthusiasm, have given you resignation, so try to take this immediately back, cause the fact that you have returned from Rostock to your teaching house has given a lot of weight to my verbal recommendation. Stay also there if in any way possible until I call you to Rostock." [36])

From this quotation it's clear that Heinrich was already for some time trying to get a job in Rostock and that his father was trying to keep him in his grip. By this date however it seems that he feared that he had lost that grip and that his son was going against his wishes. It seems that young Heinrich had even looked further than a job in Rostock. According to the father he is at the verge of jumping to his misfortune.

"Especially when you listen to your friends from Hamburg and go to Hamburg! If you do that; your misfortune will have been made after all probability! You will not find a position, spend your money and end up in an unfortunate situation. I know Hamburg better than Rostock and have seen the saddest examples, as they often happen to young people, if they not find a job in the harbour fast! I can give more than one example were such people, partly by force and partly by cunning have been shipped to America, to play there the roll of soldier or slave for five years. When you however answer to the call of your hamburg friends you will find the trues of my words either by your self or by others. So take care of my warning and answer to my will! [37])

So it seems that Schliemann had written his father about Hamburg, but it is also clear that he had not told him, before this date, that he wanted to go to America, otherwise his father couldn't have threatened him with this prospect. According to the letter to his sisters he did not listen to his father and gave up his Fürstenberg job. It seems as if Schliemann was not really sure about what he wanted to do, but it is also clear that he didn't want to just chance jobs. In the letter to his sisters he tells them that he had refused a couple of jobs, that were offered to him. This statement is substantiated by at least one letter from W. Lint. Mr. Lint had heard that Schliemann was looking for an other position and, since he was looking for an assistant, had written to Schliemann. It seems that Schliemann had not answered his letter and so W. Lint wrote him again.

"Gransee May 31, 1841
... so I ask you to tell me with return of post if you are willing to start as a servant in my shop, or that you have found your future destination elsewhere." [38])

It seems however that Schliemann's ambitions were higher and that he was ready to do what was necessary to improve his chances.

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36) Gennadius Library 2

37) Gennadius Library 2

38) Gennadius Library 3

"And so at 'Johannis' I was without a job and went to Rostock to enlarge my mercantile knowledge there in learning double italian bookkeeping, before I went on to Hamburg." 39)

It's clear that it wasn't an illness that brought him to Hamburg. There are however a few indications, in the letter to his sisters, that there had really been something wrong with his lungs or his breast.

"Since I could not save any thing for 3/4 of a year in Fürstenberg, while I still had to pay 39 Pr.Crt.Rt., as Doris also knows, for the poison mixers bill (doctor and chemist)." 40)

It is clear that Schliemann had been sick in 1839 and had needed to buy some medicine. The nature of this illness, however, is unclear, but of that we get a gimps when he tells his sisters about a job that he had in Altona, near Hamburg.

"... the whole day I had to stand with the labourers at the windlass or help with the loading and unloading and so I had to fear for a fall back in my former breast illness." 41)

A little further on we get a second reference to this illness and at the same time Schliemann tells us about the remedy that cured him. A remedy that he will keep on using for the rest of his life.

"... the accident that I had [a shipwreck] seems to have been planed by my destiny for my happiness and profit, be cause I now have a wonderful and strong health, yes I am born again. When I think back to last winter [when he lived in Fürstenberg], when I always wore two pair of under pants, a cat skin, two pair of woolen under shirts etc and still spitted blood and already believed that I had tuberculoses when I started coughing a little, so now I'm a problem to my self; however so much is clear, that the water treatment, that I used in Rostock, as well as the cold bath, which I kept on taking in Hamburg until November 24, have really hardened me so much that I otherwise might not have been able to survive my terrible ordeal." 42)

It's clear that there was something wrong with Schliemann lungs, but since this illness seems to have started in 1839 it can't have been the reason for his departure from Fürstenberg.

In Rostock Schliemann took a specialised course in book keeping at Heinrich Schwanbeck's Handlungs-Institut and he certainly had some international thoughts, cause he also took a course in English. 43) He finished this course as fast as he could and at September 10th left for Hamburg. Schliemann probably left this episode out of his biography because it shows that he wasn't as ignorant, when he reached Amsterdam, as he wanted his readers to believe.

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39) Meyer Briefwechsel p. 9

40) Meyer Briefwechel p. 10. The amount of the debt is not noted.

41) Meyer Briefwechsel p. 17

42) Meyer Briefwechel p. 32 The Rostock water treatment is also mentioned in the financial account for his Rostock days that Schliemann included in this letter. p. 10.

43) For a more in detail description of this period and Heinrich Schwanbeck's school see Richter, Wolfgang; Heinrich Schliemann. Leipzig 1992 pp. 73-78

It is infect clear that through his "Realschule" and the lessons in Rostock he must at least have had a basic knowledge of the english language before he left Germany.

Hans Theodor Hückstädt. Schliemann's patron in Fürstenberg.

Hamburg

"At two o'clock in the afternoon we continued our trip and by evening we reached Heydkrug, two miles from Hamburg, were we stayed for the night. The moment I woke up and looked out of the window, the next morning, I immediately saw the five highest hamburger towers, who, with the large distance that they have to each other, showed the size of the city. A fantastic, promising, undescribable feeling overwhelmed me by this view; now, finally I had the large goal, for which I already longed so long and that had taken my sleep, in front of my eyes, now I saw the city, that in the mercantile world stands above all. For more than an hour I stood there naked, without knowing that I was naked, the view of Hamburg had immediately placed me in third heaven, seeing Hamburg had turned me in to a dreamer." 44)

His upbringing is completed, now he is ready to enter the big world. Hamburg wasn't really the centre of the Mercantile world of those days, that was London, but it was certainly the most important city of northern Germany.

"Hamburg is the most important sea-harbour and mercantile city of Germany, it has 120.000 inhabitants and is situated at the boarders of the Elbe, which takes up the Alster and the Bille here, on 16 miles from the place were the river enters in the Northsea." 45)

In the fall of 1841 Hamburg more or less still had it's mediaeval appearance.

"The city, in earlier days surrounded by fortifications, that now are changed in places for walking, is lighted by lanterns and has a extent of two hours, 227 streets, 14 larger and smaller public squares, 84 bridges, 5 main and 7 secondary churches and 11.522 houses. The city is build in the ancient way, the streets are very narrow (except for those in the Michaels district) and the houses are high, narrow and out of bricks." 46)

For Schliemann, who never had seen a real city before, it was absolutely overwhelming.

"... finally at 11 o'clock we passed the beautiful stone gate and entered much praised Hamburg, were we stopped, in the Breitenstraße, next to the Pferdemark, at the "Weißen Roß". Oh what a movement of people, what a bustling, what an excitement and what business in the streets. Every one walks, every one runs, every one pushes through each other, it is all like an enormous chaos. The never ending screams of the salesman, who advertise the

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44) Meyer Briefwechsel I. p. 12

45) Hamburg, zoo als het was en thans is. Amsterdam 1842. pp. 7-8
After the city fire of May. 9, 1842 there appeared a number of publications in dutch about this city and the consequences of this disaster. See for instance also Kruseman, A.C.; Hamburg, zoo als het was en is Mei 1842. Haarlem 1842, which gives more or less the same information.

46) Hamburg 1842 pp. 9-10

merchandise, that they carry on there heads, while they run through the streets, the ever lasting rattling of the carts, who in an almost unbroken line run through the streets. The banging of the hours and the lovely clinging of the carillons of all towers deafen in an energetic way the ear of the stranger, so that he is not able to understand his own words." [47])

The first thing Schliemann did was, as we will see in the next chapter, visit the Exchange. This was established in 1802 after the model of Lloyds in London, it however had slowly become to small and was just being replaced by a new building. And that's the second place that Schliemann visited.

"Next I went to the new Exchange that is situated at the Adolphs-Platz, it is much bigger than the old one and leaves all buildings of Hamburg behind in lustre and beauty and splendour of interior. She was just ready and is, with the ringing of all bells and large festivities, inaugurated on the December 5 and has replaced the old one; a festivity that probably in thousands of years will not happen again." [48])

Schliemann was in the habit of constantly giving dates, etc. in his letters and autobiographies. This gives the impression of a very thorough man. When we however check these dates, etc., they often prove slightly wrong.

"On December 2, 1841 the new Exchange was opened with a festivity that was fitting for the solemn occasion and on December 6, the public that visits the exchange came for the first time together in this building." [49])

Next Schliemann went to the hart of this city, the harbour. He only stopped there for a moment, but we will stay there a little longer.

"At Hamburg, were river navigation stops, sea trade starts. Which is done, by this city, with a 150 ships of her own, diligently to all parts of the world. Two harbours, one for river- and the other for sea ships, make this easy for the mercantile houses. The largest ships, that reach the city, carry 400 to 450 ton. Those that are larger normally unload at Glückstadt, or are pulled up the river by the hamburger steamboats (Elbe and Patriot). The largest difficulty form the sands at Glückstadt and Blankenese, which are the reason that ships who draw 18 and more feet water can only arrive with the highest water." [50])

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47) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 13

48) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 14

49) Hamburg 1842 p. 33

50) Hamburg 1842 p. 13

How fathers prophecy came true.

Beside the letter to his sisters, there is little direct documentation left about Schliemann's Hamburg days and so we find our self on unsecured ground and have to see how far critical reading will bring us. Since Schliemann had some dreams or thoughts about leaving his country and Hamburg is a big port, it's a logical thought to think that he was part of the wave of immigrants, that left Mecklenburg and Germany in general, in those days. This supposition however becomes some what suspect if we take a closer look at what he tells his sisters. Immediately after he has arrived he starts of on a new carrier.

"After I had taken a small meal and had paid the Fk. [man] the agreed 4 Rt. I went out to deliver some letters of recommendation, that I had received from Hückstädt. Since I was told that I best could reach the addressees at the old Exchange, which starts at one o'clock, I could not dawdle, but immediately hurried to it and reached it just before it closed (be cause exactly at one o'clock the doors are closed and everybody who is to late has to pay 4s)." [51])

From this I get the impression that Schliemann's first priority was to obtain a job in Hamburg. Mister Hückstädt had, as we have seen, been his employer in Fürstenberg and it is clear that Schliemann had asked him for letters of recommendation, before he left for Hamburg. This is not the way in which someone who is planning to leave his country will act. Leaving your home country is for most people a hard thing to do and so as soon as they have decided to do it they have no reason to delay there trip any longer than is necessary. So if Schliemann really had wanted to leave Germany, at that moment, it would have been logical for him to start looking for a ship that could transport him. Every extra day in Hamburg would mean that he had to spend some of his money, money that he probably could use better in his new home land. But Schliemann is not looking for a boot, no, he has made sure that he had letters of recommendation for this city.

"I, after each other, asked for the merchants for whom I had letters of recommendation, namely Herren Marck & Co., Wm. Oswald & Co, Fesser & Vielhack, Corad Warncke and H.F. Prehn, I presented me to a number of them, gave them my letters and they all promised me kindly to be of help to me, after there possibilities, so I could reach my wished for target ..." [52])

So Schliemann had not one, but at least five introductions in Hamburg. To understand the function of these letters of recommendation we have to realize that it was rather hard in those days to see what a solicitant could or could not. The best way to get information about character and knowledge of someone, who wanted to work for you, was by asking his former employer. This however was a somewhat time consuming business if it had to be done by letter and it was some what risky if one didn't know that former employer personally. To counteract these problems employers wrote letters of recommendation for other employers

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51) Meyer Briefwechel p. 13

52) Meyer Briefwechel p. 14

that they knew. In this way the addressed knew what the value of the letter was and could in his turn become a new point of reverence for other employers that new him. So a letter of recommendation did not mean that you applied at the addressed, but only that the addressed could, if he wanted, be of service to you by saying a good word or two on your behalf if you needed it. So the above mentioned firms did not so much a service to the young and unknown Schliemann, but, by helping him, did a service to Hückstädt, who must have been well known to them and who probably could in future be of service to them. The writing of such letters always held some risk. If the one who was mentioned in it did not live up to what you had written about him it was a spot on your good name. So the fact that Hückstädt had written at least five letters for Schliemann can be taken as prove that he was satisfied with his work and character and wished his former employee all the best in his future.
Already the next day the letters of recommendation proved fruitful.

"... the next day I again went to the Exchange. The broker had worked on my behalf and one of them, W. Wollmer, had already found a job for me with S.H. Lindemann jun. in Altona and had recommended me and named Gentleman already asked for me. So I went to him and was, after I had shown my testimonials, without objection accepted and started at the same day." 53)

Unfortunately this was not the job that Schliemann had been dreaming of. Here he had to work at the wharf and this was the job that made him fear that it would bring him a relapse in his health. Infect, according to his non published american autobiography it really was very bad for his health.

"I took my lodgings at a small inn at Altona, and by force of enquiries I got on the 27th September a place as clerk in the shop of E.L. Lindemann, Junr., on the Fishmarket in Altona, with a salary of 60 Prussian dollars per annum. In spite of my most strenuous endeavors, I could not make myself useful to my employer, because the work he gave me was too hard for my ruined health: I got the bloodspitting stronger than ever before, and was again turned out after a fortnight's vain efforts to fill up my duty, with a gratification of one dollar." 54)

According to his official autobiography too it seems that bad health made it impossible for him to find a job.

"In despair I went to Hamburg, where I succeede in obtaining a situation with an annual salary of 180 marks, or £9 sterling: first in the grocer's shop of Lindemann junior, on the Fishmarket in Altona; and afterwards in that of E. L. Deycke junior, at the corner of the Mühren and Matten-Twiete in Hamburg. But as I could not do the heavy work, owing to my weakness in the chest, I was found useless by my employers and was turned away from each place, after having occupied it for only eight days." 55)

It's clear that Schliemann left or lost his first job because he feared for his health. The second job how ever gives us a bigger mystery. All three sources agree on the name and

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53) Meyer Briefwechel p. 17

54) Webber pp. 4-5

55) Ilios p. 7 It seem that Ludwig took Schliemann on his word, p. 52: "Blood spitting and breast pain destroyed a number of jobs for the young man, cause who wants a servant who can not do anything with his body."

address of the company, but they all give a different reason why Schliemann left it again. His official biography, as we have seen above, gives us his health again. His american biography how ever gives us a much more wonderful reason.

"After 4 weeks' vain endeavor to obtain a new situation, I got a place as clerk in Hamburg in the shop of E.L. Deycke, Junr. My new employer seeing that the work in the shop and in the store exceeded my forces, he wanted to employ me for bookkeeping and other writings, but alas, I was entirely ignorant and hardly able to write my name and so it happened that after a fortnight's service I was again dismissed ..." [56])

A boy that had finished the "Realschule" that was hardly able to write his own name? In the latter to his sisters we get a somewhat more reasonable explanation.

"I did my best to find an other job, went daily to the Exchange and already after a few days I was able, with the help of the same broker, to find a second job with E.L. Deycke jun. at the corner of the Mühren- and Mattentwiete. Unfortunately this job was without a salary and so I only took it for unknown time. The firm that deals largely, en gros & en détail, in colonial products, suited me real good, I only did not like it that the miser did not want to give me a salary." [57])

A job without a salary might seem strange to day, but wasn't so exceptional in those days. In most of the large trading houses a part of the personal worked without a salary. They normally were sons of other trading houses, often from abroad, that had come to these firms to learn the tricks of the trade. Working without a salary in this way was an investment in there future and there fathers were expected to pick up the bills. [58]) This of cause was were Schliemann run into trouble. He had found a trading house that would give him the change to learn his trade, but he had no father to pick up the bill. And so the predictions of his father became more and more real. His money was running out and there was no new money coming in. He really needed a paying job, but it seems that he was unable to find one.

"Finally after 8 weeks ... my money was gone and I owed, even while I lived continually very economically, a couple of Rt to my landlord." [59])

We can wonder if Schliemann really lived as economical as he told his sisters. In this letter we can clearly read that he knew about the possibilities for amusement, that Hamburg had to offer. Already on the first evening he took an eye full.

" Tired I returned home, had them give me something to eat and told the nice landlord what I had seen [on my walk through the city] when he interrupted me and asked if I had seen the saloon of P. Müller, the successor of the firm of D. Peter Arens, and when I said no he persuaded me to go there directly, be cause I otherwise would not be able to get admission. So I only eat half as much as I wanted and went speedily to the Neustädter Neu-Straße, were the landlord had told me that it was. I had only just entered the street when clear sounding music

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56) Webber p. 5

57) Meyer Briefwechsel p. 17

58) See Richard Roberts; Schroders Merchants & Bankers. London 1992. p. 77

59) Meyer Briefwechel p. 18

showed me the building. I entered, one wanted a 8s entrance fee, I however told them that I was a stranger, who had heard a lot of this eights wonder of the world and did not come to dance, but only to see the hall. One felt honoured and gave me free admission. Oh! What a few!. I had pictured my self to find a saloon like the Apollo Hall in Rostock, found however that I was wrong there and this was at least twice as big. The walls as well as the arched 10 feet high seeling are made out of nothing but mirrors, who by way of mirroring duplicate the lights of the 120 beautifully gas lighted chandeliers endlessly. A number of beautifully garlanded galleries, resting on 200 pyramidal marble pillars, made extra sure that all gave an exalted sight. The floor is made of mahogany wood and rest totally on springs. The gentleman are standing in the middle of the saloon, however all with there head covered, non thinks about taking off his head. Around them, on beautiful chairs, the ladies are sitting and wait till they are asked to dance. When one isn't jet delighted and enchanted by the shine and beauty of the saloon or the music that comes down from the many galleries, so one will be by the first glimpse of these ladies, than one really believes to see the old fairy world rejuvenated. If it are not the dresses, that are made of nothing but sammet and silk, of which no empress would be a shamed to wear them, that enchant the stranger, so it will be the view of there faces, such a warm snow of face and neck, such cheeks reddened by carmine make-up, glowing lips, eyebrows as half bows drawn with chinese ink and around the beautiful little face a dark swarm of curls as a piece of the egyptian darkness, one does not see to often in this world. A long time I stood dumbfounded beside the door, until I puled the attention of some looks at me, by which I came to my self and went to the other hundred or so gentleman in the middle of the hall. One could ask for a dance and a number of times I almost asked a lady, but than I remembered that I had not jet exercised this noble art, which needs constant training, for over 13 years and I did not do it. I did not doubt that all these ladies, more as 400 hundred, were all daughters of the best houses of Hamburg, but not until some weeks

later I heard to my alarm that all were dedicated to pleasure, lived in the Damthorwall-Straße and every night took there seat in the circle of ladies in this famous hall and that it so was unsuited for nice ladies to go there." [60])

Unfortunately it is unknown how the sisters reacted to this almost lyrical description of what in there eyes will probably have been a pit of sin. We can also wonder if Schliemann was really so naive that he really believed that all these nice ladies were just there because they liked dancing so much. A couple of lines further on in this letter we find the following description of a street.

"On both sides of the St. Pauli-Langreihe, that almost goes as far as Altona, the buildings are almost all adapted for pleasure and lust."

When we have to believe Schliemann he was in the evening in a decent dance hall with nothing but honourable daughters of the best families of Hamburg, while the next morning he was abe to distinguish the function of the houses that were meant to please the sailors. It's clear that Schliemann knew about the amusement possibilities this city had to offer, which of cause won't say that he ever partook in it. How ever I wonder if he was able to obtain this knowledge without drinking the odd glass of beer. In the end it made no difference. Schliemann's means were meagre and, unless he found a job, he could be sure that they would run out. He borrowed a little from his uncle in Kalkhorst, but it was clear to him that this couldn't go on. He needed a paying job. Now luck seems to have been on his side, that is if we might believe the letter to his sisters. His biographies tell a different story.

"... a broker came and asked if I already had found a place. I said yes. He regretted that he had come to late, otherwise he could have been helpful with a brilliant job in La-Guayra in Columbia." [61])

If I understand this line correctly, than Schliemann tells his sisters that he just had found a job. Since he seems to have been in money trouble we can't take that he meant the job without a salary. That job he held only temporary, until he found one that would pay and so he wouldn't have said to the broker that he already had found a job. We must take it that he speaks about an other job here, a job that did pay. Unfortunately we don't get any other information about this job and so we can't judge how promising it was or what he would give up for the foreign adventure that was now offered him.

"By these words all the old chimera from my youth rejuvenated them self, my ship and travel fantasies, after they had been a sleep for almost four years, came alive again by the word Columbia and so I answered that even while I had accepted a job, I would immediately write it of if I could get this one." [62])

I really can't read it any other way. Schliemann had a job and it was wanderlust that made him give it up in favour of a foreign adventure. Far horizons were calling.

"Than the glad broker told me that I immediately had to speak about it with the Herren

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60) Meyer Briefwechsel pp. 14-16

61) Meyer Briefwechsel p. 18

62) Meyer Briefwechsel p. 18

Krogmann & Wachsmuth, than they had this job to give away."

Here again we run into one of the small mysteries of this letter. Schliemann speaks about Krogmann & Wachsmuth, but the name of the firm was Wachsmuth und Krogmann. This was a medium size firm of shipowners. In 1905 they were with 5 ships the number eight in Hamburg. 63) Further on we will see that Schliemann had often trouble with getting the names right.

"I immediately went to them at the Exchange and said that I had decided to except the position in La-Guayra. It seemed that these clever people wanted to put me of to test my decision. They said that they already, for four weeks, had given the offer to 20 brokers to find a young man for the Herren Declisur & Böving, there friends, in La-Guayra, that however from the 600 young man, that at this moment were without a job in Hamburg, thanks to the terrible time of year, not one had been willing to take it. ... Then they gave me a little exam, I had to write a number of mercantile letters in german, french and english and when they liked these they said: I should prepare, there ship "Dorothea" Cptn Siemonsen, was ready to sail and I could go aboard; I had a free passage, only about the salary they could decide nothing since there friends had written to them that they would pay according to capacity. I was very happy, the next day I became a letter of recommendation from the ship owners for my future employer, ..." 64)

Schliemann tells his sisters about La Guayra in Colombia and in this way shows that his geographical knowledge was somewhat obsolete. He clearly didn't know the political situation in the country were he wanted to go. La Guayra is the harbour of Caracas and is situated some 10 km. north of the coast. Caracas became in 1821 independent from Spain and was from that day on part of the free state of Colombia until it became the capital of the republic of Venezuela when this was formed in 1831. It seems to have been a rather small place. In 1891 Caracas hat about 72.000 inhabitants of which about 1.500 lived in La Guayra.

So according to the letter to his sisters Schliemann had a job in la Guayra before he left Hamburg. In his american Autobiography the story is completely different.

"In this extremety of my position I remembered that my father had once told me of a certain Mr. Wendt, who had once been his pupil and who was now shipbroker in Hamburg. I therefore applied to this gentleman and, representing to him the horror of my situation, I requested him to procure me a place as cabin boy on board a ship for America. Mr. Wendt, a very kindhearted good man, received me very friendly, and told me that on account of my bloodspitting I was unable to serve as cabin-boy, but that he was [to] use his endeavors to get me away as passenger on board the Hamburg-bark-ship "Dorothea," Simonsen, Master, which was to sail on the following day for Laguayra in Venezuela, South America. Mr. Wendt spoke on the same day with the owners of the vessel, Messrs. Wachsmuth & Krogmann, and succeeded to persuade them to take me as passenger in their ship for 20 Prussian dollars." 65)

So this time Schliemann sailed as a paying passenger and there is no mentioning of a job. By

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63) Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon. Leipzig und Wien 1909

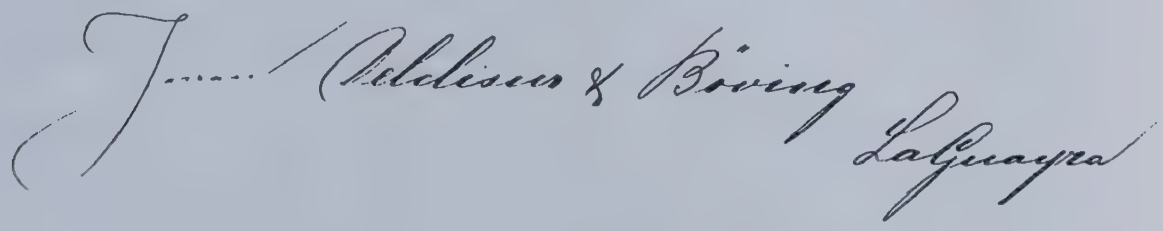
64) Meyer Briefwechel p. 19

65) Webber p. 5

the time he wrote this he had found his geographical error and so now he is rightly sailing to Venezuela. In his "official" biography the story again has change.

"Seeing the impossibility of filling a situation as grocer's shopman, and prompted by want to engage in any work, however humble, mearly to earn my food, I endeavoured to obtain employment on board a ship, and at the recommendation of a very kind-hearted shipbroker, Mr. J.F. Wendt, a native of Sternberg in Mecklenburg, who when a child had been brought up with my late mother, I succeeded in obtaining a situation as cabin-boy on board the little brig Dorothea, commanded by Captain Simonsen, owned by the merchants Wachsmuth and Kroogmann of Hamburg, and bound for La Guayra in Venezuela." 66)

So according to this version Schliemann sailed as a cabin boy. In the next chapter we will see that this absolutely can't be true and so that leaves us with the first to versions. Did Schliemann have a job before he left Hamburg or did he leave as paying passenger in the hope of obtaining a job in South America? Here we have a bit of luck. The letter of recommendation for the firm of Declisur & Böving still exists. It however doesn't confirm the story that Schliemann told his sisters. Again Schliemann seems to have had some trouble with the names. The gentleman are named Delclisur & Böving



"

Hamburg November 1841

Herrn Delclisur & Böving LaGuayra

We have the pleasure to send you by this Herrn H. Schliemann, who we recommend for your kind and good services. The purpose of his trip is to find a position in any of the good houses in your place, to enlarge his mercantile knowledge through a longer stay there and so we ask you in friendship to help him, as much as is in your power, to obtain that what he wants and to give him any service and courtesy that he wants from you. Whole hearty we will be obliged to you if you take him in and we ask you to take, at any time, command of our services, that are always dedicated to you.

We have the honour to sign, yours faithfully,

Hoefwert & Co." 67)

So it's clear that Schliemann had no fixed job with this firm when he left Hamburg. Mr. Hoefwert must even have doubted if this firm could help Schliemann. He wrote more or less the same letter to an other firm, Strom & Co, in which he again asked his friends to help

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66) Ilios pp. 7-8

67) Gennadius Library 4

Schliemann find a job. [68]) Since he was not engaged by the firm of Wachsmuth & Krogmann it's highly unlikely that they gave him a free passage. So that leaves us with Mr. Wendt who would have paid Schliemann's passage. In the letter to his sisters Wendt also dives up.

"I send everything a board and in the meantime tryed to obtain some more letters of recommandation in case I would not like it with Declisur & Böving, and see my friend Wendt gave me a number of them, partly for La-Guayra and partly for Curaçao. Here too we are in luck since there is at least one letter of recommandation left that shows that Wendt was involved.

"Herrn Ad Wappans, in the house of Herrn Geller in Puerto Cabello
Hamburg Nov. 19. 1841
At the wish of my friend Wendt I take the liberty to introduce to you Hernn J.H. Schliemann, who in these days goes to LaGuayra and probably also to Pt. Cabello. When you could be of help to him by reaching his goal you would compel me.
In friendschip yours, Lud Steenfast." [69])

Wendt is an enigmatic man. We will meet him again and again, but there is little or nothing known about him and so we have to ask our self what his relation to Schliemann was. How did these two know each other. Why did Mr. Wendt help Schliemann and, as we will see, help is what he gave again and again. In the American diary Schliemann tells us that the connection was through his father. That's possible. His father had been a teacher in Sternberg and so it's possible that Wendt had been one of his pupils. Than however we get the question why a former pupil, after so many years, would do anything for the son of his former teacher, let alone as much as Wendt did. And even more importantly, why did Ernest Schliemann warn his son for the pitfalls of Hamburg without telling him about his former student Wendt, who could be of service? In the letter to his sisters Schliemann tells us that the connection was through his late mother. This is only slightly more possible. Both originated from Sternberg and so it would theoretically be possible that they had known each other as children. Let's even stretch there relationship and say that they had been childhood lovers. Louise Theresa Sophia Bürger was born in 1793. She left Sternberg when she was twenty and married with Ernest Schliemann. They went to live in Neubukow and latter in Ankershagen. There are, as far as I know, no indications that they ever met after 1813. So in 1841 they had not seen each other for 28 years, infect Schliemann's mother was already 10 years dead. So again why would Wendt do so much for the child of an old childhood friend, even if they would have been lovers in those days. How did Wendt know that Heinrich was her son? Would Wendt do the same for all the children of those that he had known in his childhood days? I personally think not. There must some how have been a connection between Wendt and the Schliemann and/or Bürger family, but what that connection was is unclear. However, that Wendt did all he did for Schliemann makes clear that young Heinrich's family wasn't completely without a network. Schliemann somehow had a link with the Hamburg shipping and trading community through Wendt and it's that link that started him of. Schliemann always stayed thankful for

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68) Gennadius Library 5

69) Gennadius Library 6
Meyer Briefwechsel note 20 gives us jet an other letter of recommendation. This letter however is signed by Becker and shows no connection with Wendt.

all Wendt did and kept in tough [70]).

Schliemann explains his wish, to go to South America, to his sisters with a remark about his old "ship and travel fantasies", that would have come back to him when he heard this name. This is somewhat strange in the contexts of this letter. Before he came to this line he already had written quit a lot about Hamburg without any illusions about ships or travelling. This is peculiar since the character of this letter is absolutely linear, as if Schliemann wanted to write a kind of diary for his sisters. There are no time jumps and no fleshes forwards or backwards, The story goes from A to Z and nowhere one has any inclination of what comes next. Since Schliemann wrote this letter when he had arrived in Amsterdam, and the whole adventure was behind him, it is clear that at any moment during the description he knew what the out come would be. So we can take that he choose a kind of literary effect to sell his story to his sisters. He wanted them, through the way he tooled it, to become part of it. He wanted them to find the "right emotions" at the right place. In this way his old "ship and travel fantasies" appear at a strange point in this letter. Hamburg was a harbour town, everything there had to do with ships and travel, but it seems that this made no impression on young Heinrich until he heard about the job in South America. He described his first city walk with glowing, almost lyrical lines, but the harbour and the ships get of very poorly.

"Than I went to the new harbour, saw the numerous, from all parts of the world originating ships, climbed the so called "Stintfang", which allows one a beautiful view of the harbour and than ascended the tower of the large Michaelis church, ..." [71])

Two lines and than he is back in the city. The harbour has loosened no old dreams or fantasies. He saw the ships and that is all. It is as if Schliemann's wish to go aboard does not surface before he had become the feeling that Hamburg will not bring him what he's looking for. While it was impossible for me to find out if Schliemann gave up a job or not, it is also impossible for me to say if Schliemann was driven by leak of money or by leak of prospects. It is also possible that Schliemann's wish to go to La Guayra was meant, like the foreign stays of many a traders son, as a training period. "The purpose of his trip is to find a position in any of the good houses in your place, to enlarge his mercantile knowledge through a longer stay there " is what one of the letters of recommendation say. We can wonder if Wendt had made clear to Schliemann that this was the best way to get up in Hamburg? Was Schliemann driven by his wish for adventure or was this a career move?

"At the 23 I took a touching farewell of all my friends, said goodbye to Köppens and went a board. [72]) The crew was already compleat and one waited for the right wind. ... The wind kept on being unfavourable and so we could not leave until it finally turned on the 27 and departure became fixed at the 28." [73])

That the "Dorothea" really existed and was destind for La Guayra is sure. At November 20

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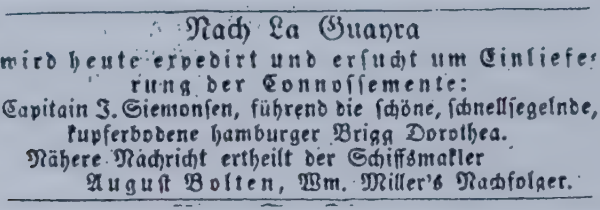
70) Schliemann's last know letter to Wendt dates from October 4, 1855, Meyer Briefwechsel p. 69. Wendt died in January 1856.

71) Meyer Briefwechsel p. 14

72) And so it's clear that Schliemann had connections in Hamburg and was not absolutely on his own there.

73) Meyer Briefwechsel p. 19

there was an ad in the paper in which ship and destination were described:


Nach La Guayra
wird heute expedirt und ersucht um Einliefe-
rung der Connossemente:
Capitain J. Siemonsen, führend die schöne, schnellsegelnde,
kupferbodene hamburger Brigg Dorothea.
Nähere Nachricht ertheilt der Schiffsmakler
August Bolten, Wm. Miller's Nachfolger.

"To La Guayra is now exported and asked for hand in of the bills of landing: Captain J. Siemonsen, being the master of the beautiful, fast sailing, copper bottomed, hamburger Brig Dorothea. Further information through the ships broker August Bolten, succesor of Wm. Miller." 74)

The date of departure is also recorded in a newspaper.

"The 28: Dorothea, Capt. Simonsen, to Laguayra" 75)

Unfortunately they had no passengers lists in those days and so we don't know if and how many passengers the Dorothea carried and so there is no secondary prove to be found in Hamburg that Schliemann was aboard.

74) Privilegierte wöch. gemeinnutzige Nachrichten von und über Hamburg Nr. 276 of 20/11/1841
This ship is also to be found on Wacksmuth & Krogmann's ship list of 1831-1917. "1841 "Dorothea", wooden Brig, 1842 lost."

75) Hamburgischen unpateiischen Correspondenten" of Tueday Novembur 30. 1841.

Adventures at high-see

Schliemann was clearly unlucky with his first trip on the high sees and so we don't have to wonder, that it became an important part in what we now can call the Schliemann myth. To unravel all the mysteries that surround this trip I will start of with the "official" version, the version that Schliemann made for publication.

"On the 28th of November, 1841, we left Hamburg with a fair wind: but in a few hours it turned contrary, and we were accordingly detained for three days in the river Elbe, near Blankenese, until on the 1st of December the wind again became fair. On that day we passed Cuxhaven and entered the open sea, but we had no sooner reached Heligoland than the wind returned to the west, and remained there up to the 12th of December. We were continually tacking, but made little or no progress, until in the night of the 11th-12th December we were shipwrecked in a fearful storm off the island of Texel [76]), on the bank called "de Eilandsche Grond." After escaping innumerable dangers, and having been tossed about by the fury of the elements for nine hours in a very small open boat, the crew, consisting of nine men, were all saved. I shall always remember with gratitude to Heaven the joyful moment when our boat was thrown by the surf on a bank close to the shore of the Texel, and all danger was over. I did not know the name of the land we had been cast upon, but I perceived that it was a foreign country. I felt as if on that bank a voice whispered to me that the tide in my earthly affairs had come, and that I had to take it at its flood. My belief was confirmed when, on the very day of our arrival, my little box, containing a few shirts and stockings, as well as my pocketbook with the letters of recommendation for La Guayra procured for me by Mr. Wendt, was found floating on the sea and was picked up, while all my comrades and the captain himself lost everything. In consequence of this strange event, they gave me the nickname of 'Jonah,' by which I was called as long as we remained at the Texel. We were kindly received there by the consuls Sonderdorp and Ram, who proposed to send me, together with the rest of the crew, by way of Harlingen, back to Hamburg. But I declined to return to Germany, where I had been so overwhelmingly unfortunate, telling them that I regarded it as my destiny to remain in Holland, that I intended to proceed to Amsterdam ..." [77])

Now we go a bit back in time and see how Schliemann told this story in his american biography.

"We started only on the 24 Novbr. 1841, but were retained 4 days in the river Elbe near Blankenese on account of contrary wind. At last on the 28 Novbr., at 4 A.M. the wind turned favorable and we started. We passed at 10 A.M. Cuxhafen and got already at 2 P.M. the English

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76) Geography is not everybody's strong point. Wieland Schmid quotes in his book "Heinrich Schliemann - Troje und Homer" more or less the same part from Ilios under the heading of "Shipwreck at Helgoland" Leonard Cottrel too shows that he has some trouble here. In his book "The Bull of Minos" he tells his readers: "after tossing for nine hours the companions were thrown by the surf on to a bank close to the shore of the river Texel."

77) Ilios p. 8

island Helgoland [78]) in sight. We reached at 4 P.M. the Height of Helgoland, when suddenly the wind turned from Southeast to Northwest, and compelled us to tack and ply to windward. Towards evening a heavy gale sprung up, causing the vessel to roll and to shake very much. The gale continued without interruption till Sunday, 5 December, and during all this time I lay on my mattress suffering from seasickness and unable to take any nourishment. On the 5th Decbr. we had a perfect calm, and feeling much better I could for the first time take some victuals. But on the 6th the stormy weather set in again and continued unabated till the 11th. All the day of the 11th it was blowing quite a hurrucane and the vessel rolled and pitched tremendously. During the whole of our voyage we had never seen the Sun, and were thus unable to ascertain our exact position. On the 11th the sky was thicker than ever covered with clouds, only at abt. 4 P.M. the clouds separated a little in the West and we saw for a few moments the setting sun, which beamed upon us in all his splendor as if he wanted to wish us a last farewell. No sooner had the Sun disappeared when it became suddenly dark night. I went down to my birth to rest, and never since we left Cuxhafen had I slept so well as that evening. Suddenly (it might be about midnight) I was awoke by a horrible cracking of the vessel and by a simultaneous exclamation of the Captain: we are lost! save yourselves! Seized with trembling horror, I jumped out of my birth in the Cabin half filled with water, into which I plunged up to the middle of my body. It was with difficulty I reached the staircase and crawled on deck, where a mighty wave from the right board of the vessel threw me with fury to the opposite side, and I should inevitably have been thrown over board, had it not been for the rigging, which I happily got hold of. I then endeavored to get again to the other side, where I attached myself with a downhanging rope to the board. I was almost naked, and a woollen shirt was all my covering. The waves went continually over me, and every moment I expected death. The cracking of the vessel increased, and the vessel sunk more and more with each succeeding wave. The captain had entirely lost his command over the crew, and all was confusion and horror. The one cried, the other prayed, the other blasphemed, the other endeavored to get courage by drinking. Some of the crew tried to launch the large boat, but such was their confusion, that the boat was launched perpendicularly and of course instantly swallowed up by the waves. The second boat was launched on the windside, but immediately smashed to pieces by the fury of the waves. Thus there only remained to us the small stern-boat, which to make use of it in the last extremity was attached between the two masts. In consequence of the immense cracking and rolling of the vessel, the ship's bell rang continually, and its doleful sounds seemed to proclaim our watery grave. We might have been two hours in this awful situation, when the Capt. and crew sought refuge in the masts. It was a very dark and very cold night and snow fell in fine flakes upon us. Suddenly the wrack fell completely on one side on the sandbank and was dashed a few seconds afterwards in a thousand pieces. Seeing the decided moment coming, the crew threw themselves in the small-boat, I plunged headlong in the water and was dragged in by the second mate. The ropes which retained us to the masts were cut and s tremendous wave took us away with it. Like a shittlecock we were thrown about by the mountains' high waves, whose cold spray dashed continually upon us, and with the hands we shoveled the water out of the boat. Two of the crew were drowned. We were 14 persons in the small boat, and it was a wonder indeed that we did not sink, for we had hardly a hand's breadth of board. We had no oars and were thrown about a play-thing of the wind. We looked with terror to each wave, which threatened to capsize our boat or to swallow it up. In this horrible situation we passed 7 hours, when we were thrown by the waves on the beach of the island Texel, whose inhabitants were busily engaged in stealing what had been washed ashore of the vessel and the cargo. A small waggon

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78) Helgoland was english from 1814 to 1892 after which it became part of Prussia. In sprit it however always was german. It was on this island that the poet Hoffmann von Fallersleben wrote "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles"

was procured and we were conveyed to the house of a dutchman of the name of Jan Brans, where a large fire was kindled in the chimney and we were treated with coffee and blackbread. The owner of the house gave me a pair of large wooden-shoes, a pair of old torn linen trowsers and a nightcap and we remained 3 days with him. I felt not sick after the shipwreck and the loss of 3 teeth which were knocked out to me in some way or other; [otherwise] I had not to complain of any injury. On the 15th December we were ordered to walk off to another village on the island called "Burg-Texel," where the consuls Sonderdorp & Ram live. I was told by the latter, that I had to proceed on the following day in company of the crew over Harlingen by the Hage [79]) to Hamburg, but I insisted on going to Amsterdam, ..." [80])

Again we go back in time. In the letter to his sisters we get the most detailed description of this trip, that was written only a short time after it had happened and so it must still have been fresh in Schliemann's mind.

"It was a totally new ship, just a couple of weeks from the slipway, with three masts [81]) and a copper bottom, build for speed sailing, it was, according to Cptn. Jürg Siemonsens assurances, the most beautiful of all hamburg ships. It had the name 'Dorothea' after Wachsmuth's sister, the wife of Krogmann. The cabins were totally round and the walls as well as the floors as well as the loos objects in it were totally build from mahogany wood. The occupants were made up from 18 sailors and 3 passengers, the hamburg cabinet-maker Albrecht, his son and I. We passengers had our berth (Koi) in the cabin, as had the captain and both navigating officers.
The wind was continually unfavourable and we could not leave our place until if finally turned at the 27st and the 28 was set a part for departure. Already at 4 o'clock in the morning two pilots came aboard, the ship was made lose and brought through the amount of ships that lay before her, the cannons thundered a good by over the harbour, our batteries answered the greetings and the ship glided, since the wind violently filled the sails, as on wings over the dark glittering waves of the Elbe, and beautiful Hamburg was, in the early light of morning, soon lost from our eyes.
Already around 10 o'clock we were shortly before Glückstadt, here however we had to drop anchor at the advice of the pilots, since ebb was already to close to pass the dunes.
On this evening we became contrary wind, that also kept on the 29st and not before the 30th

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79) What Schliemann meant with "Harlingen by the Hage" is unclear to me. Harlingen is a little city on the opposite side of the "Zuiderzee" (now IJsselmeer) from Texel and would be a logical in between step to Hamburg. There is however nowhere a city or village called "the Hage" in that vicinity. It's possible that he meant "the Hague", which is the english name for "den Haag", the dutch royal city, but that is in a totally different part of the country.

80) Webber pp. 5-8

81) Since the 'Dorothea' was a Brig one would expect only two sails, it is however possible that it was Polacre rigged and had three masts. Culver, Henry B.; The book of old ships and something of their evolution and romance. London 1936. "The Polacre. ... The rig is of Mediterranean origin and still exists. It was employed in England as late as fifty years ago [ca. 1880]. Its peculiarities were that usually it carried three pole masts without caps or crosstrees and a bowsprit consisting of one piece." This kind of rigging could be used on different types of ships. Since it is specifically stated that the ship was specially build for fast sailing we can take that it had a special rigging to surpass the performances of the ordinary Brig.

changed in our favour. At 8 o'clock in the morning the anchor was pulled up, the sails were stretched, a nice eastern wind blew in them, and like an arrow the ship shot away. Already at three quarters past ten we were at the friendly spot Cuxhaven, with it's high and beautiful lighttower and at half pas eleven we already passed the island of Neuwerder. The weather was beautiful, the sky was clear and clean, the sun kept on shining and everything seemed to predict a happy trip. Oh! what a beautiful view, above us the blue, with little clouds filed, sky and below us this enormous surface, which chaotically move from and to us and which throw the big ship like a ball into the air. While seeing this one immediately recognises the smallness of man in relation to the almighty.
The wind became more powerful, the ship flew constantly faster and made, according to the thrown out 4 hour measure, 10,75 to 11 mile in 4 hours. Soon Neuwerk too was lost to us, and we saw no more fixed points, at 12 o'clock we set the two pilots of on the fire-ship and at three quarters passed two we became in sight of Helgoland and kept on seeing it for two hours. We were only two miles away from it and had a good view of it: it is one rock, on which a few houses are standing. On one side of the island is a large passage. During the night the wind stayed good, I was not troubled by seasickness, except from a little dizziness. It however came extra strong on the second day, when the wind changed and blew strongly from the N.N.W., so that we had to tack and the ship was than on her one and then on her other side. Seasickness is an undescribable disagreeable sickness, that makes for everlasting vomiting and when the stomach has nothing left to give, the gall will start to give up. Every hour the wind became more powerful and by evening a storm broke loose, the waves when as high as a house. I had always been on deck, became however sicker and sicker and so took a bucker and went into the cabin. The storm raged for 8 days, than from the N. and than from the W. and with it my seasickness. Already for 8 days I had eaten nothing and had only left the cabin to relieve myself. With the other passengers it was the same, they were as sick as I was.
Finally we got wind silence and the ship moved less. It looked as if I lost my seasickness by it, again I enjoyed my self a bit and was able to stay the whole day on the for deck. It was the seventh of December, the air was icy cold, but clear and the sea was busy to get to rest. The captain had, with these contrary winds, carefully steered to the high sea, and so we were at that moment, as he said, more than a hundred miles from Cuxhaven and 80 miles from Hull. By evening a good east wind started blowing, all sails were stretched and while the ship-folk gave off shouts of joy the ship flew further. With a deep longing everybody expected that we now would have passed the canal, cause after that there was no more danger to expect. With a good wind one can reach it from Hamburg in three days and we were already so long away and still closer to Hamburg than to the canal. In the hope that this wind wood keep the captain had them steer S.W. Unfortunately the next evening we became a storm from the N. and all sails, accept for the Bramm G., were taken in, and we had to, since we could not steer back, keep as high N.W. as we could.
At the 9th [of December] the storm became more forceful, the waves kept on rolling over the deck, the ship took a lot of water, and the pumps had to be kept in movement. Our seasickness had gone away and at its place had come an enormous hunger, that we tried to satisfy with hard ships biscuits. I sat the whole day in the corner of the cabin, were I had tied up a chair for my self, and learned spanish letters, had however very often the bad luck that I lost my balance and fell mercilessly. The other passengers lay, because it was easier in the berth.
At the 10st the storm kept on coming from the north, we always kept N.W., but since we could only hoist the Bramm G. sail, we only came forwards very little and were more and more driven to the S. by the storm. It kept going like this until noon the 11th. An uncommon amount of sea-gulls were flying around us, what all kept for a bad omen, also a good number of seals were seen. The weather was bad, the air was icy and 6° cold, we were constantly hit by snow, the wind always kept the same strength. The pumps worked day and night, the sea moved terribly. By noon the storm became stronger and stronger and by 5 turned into a gail.

The waves were as high as a tower, soon we were, like a football, thrown hundreds of feet into the hight, soon we were again in a terrible abyss. At 6 the Bram G. sail tared and with frightful expectations all looked forward to the night, than the ship was more and more thrown to the side. One stretched 'Gittau' H&B, they however tared, before they could do somegood[82]), and so we had to give our self up to fate. The other passengers were like I in there berth and did not know anything about what went on above, yes I had no idea of danger.[83]) ... The crew was constantly on deck, already since noon non had been to the cabin. At 7 the boy brought, like always, thee and ships biscuits, by which he cried bitterly and said that this was the last that he brought us, for this I laughed a bit about him.
At ten o'clock the captain came to the cabin with the second mate, he took the maps and showed him were we, in his opinion, were; his frightened looks showed fearful anxiety. Suddenly the first mate came and told the captain that he saw two lights in the distance. The captain rushed to the deck and had the two anchors lowered, which chains however were torn in seconds like sowing treads and the ship flew further like an arrow. Never before had I slept so soft and restful[84]); I dreamed of the beautiful fields of Columbia [85]) and had no idea

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82) This remark is somewhat unclear. According to Meyer Briefwechsel note 23 Schliemann meant with 'Gittau' a rope that is used to secure the sails to the yard. This might be, but from the rest of the story I get the impression that they tried to lower the sails in the hope to keep the ship from being blown to the south, but were the sails already thorn before they were really starched and could do some good. Was this a last ditch event that failed?

83) I wonder how Schliemann knew about the sails? He tells the story as if he was there and now he tells us that he wasn't.

84) Again we can wonder how Schliemann knew what was going on while he was sleeping.

85) Niederland, W.G.: Psychoanalytic Profile of a Creative Mind: Eros and Thanatos in the Life of Heinrich Schliemann. Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics 15. 1969. p. 210
"Perhaps nothing reveals the tragic and closely interwoven combination of Eros and Thanatos more strikingly than does Schliemann's dream during the night of the shipwreck on December 11, 1841. I have found numerous references to this dream in his writings. The most detailed version is contained in a large volume entitled 'Sprachübungen'. The whole dream text is written in Italian. ...
'For eight days we had a continuous storm - gale - hurricane, which drove us ever more toward the Dutch coast. It was during the, in the night of 11-12 December, 1841. I had gone to bed and slept deeply; never had I slept so well. I dreamed - I saw in the dream that we arrived in the country of our destination and scarcely had the ship entered - entered into - the port when I dived into the water and amidst sharks, swam ashore and fled - deserted and took myself into the interior of the country where I found employment as a servant on a plantation. I dreamed that the wife of the plantation owner fell in love with me and that we both agreed to poison the owner which we did - carried out - performed very cold-bloodedly and efficiently. After his death we married, copulated, but I dreamed further that besides my wife I also enjoyed - had relations with my black, female slaves. While I was absorbed in such sweet dreams I was awakened by a tremendous thrust which made me fly - jump in the - on the bed. The boat had run into a cliff and the water penetrated immediately. Dressed only in a cotton shirt I ran on deck where I was thrown down by an enormous wave ... I fell hitting my mouth against the deck and broke all my front teeth. But my terror was such that I didn't feel the pain. I pulled myself up and fastened myself with ropes (to a barrel) ... I expected to die with every new wave - ...'"
Since the last line, the barrel, clearly shows that Schliemann did not write what actually happened, but gave a romanticised version, I wonder if this is really the dream he dreamed that night or just an other try of making him self the centre of a fictional

of the threatening danger.
It must have been about midnight when the captain suddenly opened the cabin and cried: Passengers come upstairs we are in grave danger. He had just spoken as it was also shown by a terrible blow. All windows in the cabin snapped. I jumped as fast as I could out of my berth and wanted to get dressed when the water started to come in from all sides and I, in danger of my life, reached the deck naked. The first thing I got there was a terrible wave, that went over me and pulled me from starboard to port, were I was terribly hurt, but held on, again climbed to starboard were I tied my self up. The same fate befall the other passengers, who however had been so cleaver not to undress; they too tied them self to the down hanging ropes beside me. The captain and the crew worked hard to get both of the boats, that were lying in the middle of the ship, afloat; however the confusion and fear were so big, that one almost did not know what to do. The first boat was uselessly let down on the starboard side, on which the gale was blowing and so was full of water before it had reached the water and had to be cut. The second, that was clearly bigger, was let down on port side, did go rightly down, was however in a few moments full of water.
Now all hope to get saved was lost, since the means were wanting.
I at first was in an all despairing fear and outside my self of sadness. Oh! how often had I in former days wanted to be dead when it did not go well with me, I Joker! I did not know how sweet life is when death really comes. Yes! if one had made me, in this terrible moment, the offer either to die or to spend the rest of my life in chains in prison, I gladly would have preferred the last. Clearly I must have day dreamed in this terrible hour, cause how much, how endlessly much did I think about you and deplored that I had to die here, far a way from you, without the chance that you would know about it. In mind I said goodbye to all of you, prayed to God, welcomed him in my soul so he could bring it over to the for me doubtful other side, gave my body to the sharks, and so my testament was made. It is well possible that I had spend an hour in this terrible situation, were the waves were crashing over my head, with these terrible thoughts, as to my happiness my resoluteness completely returned to me, the sad thoughts left my soul and there place was taken by a never before felt firmness and I decided, reconciled with death, to throw my self in its arms. The cabinet-maker, a catholic, was even more despairing than I, he cried constantly and called on Maria and all saints to help him. However neither Maria nor her Son came and the danger grew every second.
The crew had kept it self quiet up till now and had followed the orders of the captain, when it however saw no more chace for salvation, it started out in the most terrible swearing, only a few cried or lamented there family. The cracking of the ship was terrible, and probably this was the reason that the ship's bell had started to move, cause it was ringing, as pulled by an invisible hand, without end. The night was cold and icy, at least 7-8° cold, the sky looked like a black cloud, from which snow came down on us in small flakes. The ship sank more and more and with every wave that rolled over us, I expected death. The crew believed that it was save in the masts and fled in them to wait for morning. I too believed that I was save there, so I untied my self and wanted to go up, when, with a terrible cracking, the wrack collapsed over port and I too was pulled into the deep. I however soon came up again and got hold of a footing empty barrel, which I convulsively seized by a notch and together with which I was hurled away. Soon I was put up a hundred feet, soon I dropped in a terrible abyss, and so I might have floated unconsciously for four hours as I was floated on to a sand bank - such sand banks are to be found before all of the dutch coast, by low tide they are totally dry and only covered by high tide - which real low waves and low water level showed the nearness of land. My whole body numb and half dead of tiredness I decided to wait here for death or salvation, however non of both came. Finally, finally it became morning and to my great enjoyment I saw land before me. I wanted to go to try to reach it but I could not, wanted to call, but could

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narrative.

not thanks to exhaustion. Finally one noticed me and a number of onlookers collected them self on the beach and it did not take long before some man appeared with a boat. They could not completely reach me and so they got out and carried me to it.
They asked me something, but I did not understand the language and also was unable to answer. Lots of floating boards and debris already told them what had happened. I was brought to the Eilandshuis (Island house), one took my woolen shirt off, my only pieces of clothing, and put me in a bet, one gave me coffee and I fell a sleep. Around 4 in the after noon I woke up. The sleep had made me feel a little better, but terrible pains tortured me and I cried a loud, cause both of my for teeth had been broken and I had deep cut in my face as well as in my body. Everything was as lamed, the feet thickly swollen. The landlord came and I asked him in english were I was and if non of the others was saved. Luckily he understood this language and he tooled me that I was stranded on the Eilansgrund, a clip three miles away from there and that I was now in the Eilandshuis on the Island of Texel and that the captain and a sailor too had saved them self on a beam, on which they had floated until close to land and were now in his house; of the ships goods nothing could be saved, while the wind had turned already around midnight and so now everything was a float in the high sea.
I showed him my wounds and asked him for some dressing; he brought hot water, washed my wounds, dressed me, gave me again coffee and I again went to sleep and did not wake up until morning. The rest had done wonders, but the pain was terrible. The landlord came again, brought hot rum and soap, washed my swollen feet and dressed my wounds a new. On my request he also gave me something to eat, which I hastily devoured, since I had not eaten for a number of days. During this the captain too came in, he however was no longer the proud large captain that he was on the ship, but he came to me, gave me his hand, and was pleased with my miracles saving, about which I told him and than he told he how fortunately he and a sailor had saved them self on a beam.
Then he told me that he would communicate what had happened to the ship owners Krogmann & Wachsmuth and would also be happy to write for me, when I wished so. I thanked him for it and dictated a letter to my friend Wendt in Hamburg, in which I asked him to speak with Krogmann & Wachsmuth if they would not replace me at least 2 St. Louisdor, of my many loses and send it, in case the gentleman were inclined to do so, to my present-day address, H. Schliemann, Address H. Johannes Branes in the Eilandshuis on the dutch island of Texel.
On different grounds the land lord had an interest in my quick recovery. Since he believed that sweating was beneficent he over packed me with coverings, gave me hot wine etc, and I started to sweat profoundly, which stayed the whole day; and see, this worked, together with the blessed rest, its beneficial work. The swelling of the feet had become notably less, the lameness of my limbs disappeared more and more and the torturing pains of my wounds and broken teeth too seemed to change in character. The sweating was, with good results, also kept on the next day and already on the fourth day I was able to make a round through the room. Than however the landlord told me that I could not stay any longer, than he had the order from the Texel consul to keep me until I was better, but than to have me brought, as soon as possible, to the consulate in den Burg Texel, were I could decide what next would happen and so the next morning I would start my trip. Since I had no cloth, except for a shirt and under shirt, the landlord showed his compassion after a number of requests from me and gave me an old under trousers, a ripped jacket and a pair of wooden shoes (these are shoes totally made out of wood) and even if I would have liked the jacket to change in a fur coat, I excepted it gladly. The next morning at seven o'clock I was put on a wagon and I made the trip accompanied by the sailor . The captain stayed there to wait for news from Hamburg. I asked the land lord, in case a letter for me would arrive, to send it on to the consul of Mecklenburg in Amsterdam, than I had decided to go to him.
At noon I arrived in den Burg Texel. I immediately went to the consulate Sonderburg & Ramm, who already knew everything. They wanted to send me to Hartingen and from there by

stage coach by way of Hamburg to Mecklenburg. I however made them clear, that I had just as much or little to expect there as in Amsterdam and so preferred the last place and asked only for a letter of recommendation to the consul of Mecklenburg there, which I became to gather with a description of the accident." 86)

The Eierlander beach as it looks on a sunny day

We have to remember that this was the first time that Schliemann was at sea. From what he writes to his sisters, we should almost believe that he was an old hand, who knew what he was writing about. His details are so profoundly that it is as if he had kept a log during this trip, but in reality it was written in an amsterdam room and so we can wonder how much of this detail is true and how much is fictionmade up for the enjoyment of the sisters. That the earliest version is the longest seems reasonable, but we don't have to look too close to the three versions to see that the later versions are not condensations of the first. In fact it's clear that each version is a story in his own right, that has only the basic ingredients in common with the other two. Let's have a quick look at the number of people that were aboard and what happened to them. In the first version, the letter to the sisters, we have a crew of 18 sailers and 3 passengers including Schliemann, of these only Schliemann, the captain and one sailor are saved. So a total death toll of 18. In the second, in the american autobiography, we have a crew of 16 sailors including Schliemann. Fourteen are save and so the death toll has come down to 2. In the third version, the official autobiography, we have a crew of 9 sailors including Schliemann and all are save. It's clear that we can't trust Schliemann's account 87) and so the question is, what really did happen. Here we are in luck. Shipwreck is

86) Meyer Briefwechel pp. 19-26

87) Biographers solved this problem in different ways. Payne, Robert; The Gold of Troy. New York. 1959. p. 25. "When an empty cask floated by, he clutched at it, his fingers curling convulsively around the rim. So he remained for half the night, hanging between the sky and the sea, until the first mate pulled him out of the water and somehow got him into the stern boat, which had been thrown free. There were fourteen people in the boat, and no oars. They drifted until the dawn, only to be thrown up on one of the sandbanks off the island of Texel, off the Dutch coast." This is clearly an amalgamated version of Pain that has no factual feet.

a disaster in which a lot of money is lost and so the ship owners like to know what happened and who's to blame. Governments too like to know what happened and thirdly the newspaper consider it news and so shipwrecks normally leave quite a lot of documents behind. This is no different in the case of the Dorothea.

With the help of these documents we can get a probably more reliable picture of what happened.
Certain is that on the December 13, 1841 the captain went to a notary in Den Burg to have an official sea protest made up.

"N 735 Sea protest

To day, December 13 eighteen hundred and forty one, appeared before me, Johannis Ludovicus Kikkert, public notary, living on the island of Texel in the district of Alkmaar in the province of Noord Holland, in the presence of later to be named witnesses,
captain Jurgens Simonsen,
living in Hamburg, having directed the hamburg brig Dorothea [88]), with different goods, from Hamburg with destination Laguara.
He made known that he, with for called brig, containing a cargo of different goods, had sailed from Hamburg to the sea on November 24 and had become stuck, thanks to the elements of the sea, in the "Eijerlandsche gronden", in the morning of December 12, and that the same ship with the same cargo still sits in the same sands and that the appeared is sworn to come with decent prove to try to show that this has happened without him being at fault.
And he declares before us, notary and witnesses, that he protest against the danger of the recipients and all others, who might have or become part in this, against the damage that has

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Calder, William M. III; Schliemann on Schliemann: A Study in the Use of Sources. Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 13. 1972. note 52. "In the letter [to the sisters] Schliemann speaks only of the barrel with nothing of the little lifeboat packed with thirteen other survivors: ... The existence of numerous discrepancies in the varied accounts encourage doubt of the whole." In a letter from March 14, 1995 Professor Calder wrote me the following: "In answer to your question: in 1972 I knew no external confirmatory evidence for Schliemann's adventures on Texel. Knowing how apt Schliemann was to embroider truth I doubted the whole. But since then I have discovered in the memoirs of a Dutchman who emigrated to the USA a testimonium that as a boy on Texel he was present at the rescue of Schliemann. That is we have an external confirmation of the fact that Schliemann indeed was wrecked off the coast of Texel. Therefore, I no longer hold to my earlier opinion." This testimony is to be found in: Bok, Edward; The Americanization of Edward Bok, New York 1924. pp. xxi-xxii "A third son, scorning his own safety, plunged into the boiling surf on one of those nights of terror so common to that coast [Texel], rescued a half-dead sailor, carried him to his father's house, and brought him back to a life of usefulness that gave the world a record of imperishable value. For the half-drowned sailor was Heinrich Schliemann, the famous explorer of the dead cities of Troy." This may sound as a confirmation of the story, but infect is nothing but fiction. There really lived a Bok at this island. He was the official receiver of wrecks, but he was only notified after everybody was saved. He must have known that Schliemann was not a sailor but a passenger and Schliemann was not brought to his house or to that of any other by the name of Bok. In short, Schliemann was not saved by a member of the Bok family and so this story is nothing but fiction.

88) The spelling of this notary was not what we now a days of some one in that profession would expect. There are some strange mistakes in his dutch that have gone lost in this translation, but I have left his misspelling of the ships name for what it is.

arisen, against costs and interests that have arisen and further generally against everything about which by right or custom has to be protested, so that these can get restitution there and were it should be given.
Which is noted.
Made and passed within the municipal of Texel in the house and office of us notary in den Burg, at the moment named at the beginning, in presents of mister Klaas Kaan, citizen, living in Wieringerwaard and Willem Krab, porter, living in den Burg, asked to serve as witnesses.
And in this minute, after being read, signed by appeared, witnesses and us notary." 89)

Johannis Ludovicus Kikkert

So now we can be sure that the Dorothea was realy shipwrecked on the coast of Texel. To be precise, in the Eierlandse gronden. That Schliemann mis spelled this name as Eilansgrund and that he translated the name of the house were he was, het Eierlandse huis, as Island hous is easily to understand and shows that Schliemann had already picked up a little dutch by the time he wrote this letter. "Eiland" is the dutch word for island, "Eierland", however means land of eggs. This part of Texel is named "Eierland" after the big collonies of seabirds that used to be there.

"Here one also gathers the eggs of many sea birds, mainly guls. The tenant-farmer counts that he has 5 to 6000 yearly and he sells them in Amsterdam for 150 cents a hundred." 90)

The Eierlandsehuis was the last house of the island. It had different functions. It was mainly used as tenent-farm, but it was also the last mail station of this Island. From here the mail went by boat to the next island. The tennant had, as we have seen, the right to gather eggs, but he also was under the oblication to keep a fire burning on the last dune during stormy nights.

"When ships go under in this part, the people and goods are taken up in the Eierlandsehuis; the inhabitant has especially horses to be used by such an occasion. Near this house we saw parts of racked ships lying around. " 91)

At December 16, the captain again went to notary Kikkert in Den Burg. This time he was accompanied by his crew and probably the passengers.

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89) Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord Holland, archief notaris Kikkert N735

90) Ackersdijck in Vriend des Vaderlands, 1826. I quote from Waddenbulletin, nr. 1. 1995

91) Ackersdijck

N 738 Ships declaration

To day, December sixteen eighteen hundred and forty one appeared before me, Johannis Ludovicus Kippert, public notary, living on the island of Texel, in the district of Alkmaar, in the province of Noord Holland, in the presence of later to be named witnesses

1 Jurgen Simonsen, captain
2 Pieter Johan Nomens, first mate
3 Joachim Meyer, second mate
4 Frederik Lange, carpenter, living in Hamburg.
5 Marten Meyer, cook, living in Brunsbuttel
6 Thomas Lassen, sailor, living in Sijlt
7 Hans Christiaan Matzen, sailor, also living in Sijlt
8 Cornelis Fredericke, sailor, living in Blankeneze
9 Carel Christian Ludwig, sailor, living in Buzen, all five last mentioned on the Danish coast.
10 George Fremen, ordinary seaman living in Fehmern on the Baltic
11 Carel Schatt, ordinary seaman living in Ludwigslijn above Berlin.
12 Julius Jancovius, ordinary seaman living in Lausetse, also above Berlin
13 Louis Willem Andreas Petersen , ordinary seaman, living in Hamburg [92])

These appearing, after having been mustered at November sixteenth last in Hamburg, made up the total crew of the Hamburg brik, named Dorethea, originating in Hamburg and there loaded with a cargo of different goods, with as destination Laguaijra at the Colombian coast.[93])

Make known:

That the brik Dorethea, of which the first appearing had become the management and which the bottom was totally new, rightly closed and well tared, the masts and pumps provided with good double collars and all what by law and custom is required of water shading and is useful to transport merchant goods over sea, was loaded with different goods from October 20 to November twenty four of this year and destined for Laguayra.

That the appearing, after all had been loaded and stowed as this has to be and all had been closed with covers and was bound together, the next day, being November twenty four, under good circumstances and with a pilot on board had left Hamburg and since the wind was against them and there was not enough water in the river, did not come further than Blamkeneze.

Since the weather and the circumstances stayed the same, the appearing were obliged to stay there until November twenty eight, on which day they sailed, passing Statental at two o'clock in the afternoon of that day and dropping anchor at about eight o'clock in the evening before the village of Oost.

That during this night the wind changed from North to East and that they, the appearing, made sail in the morning of the twenty ninth and already at twelve o'clock on that day passed the fire-ship on the Elve [Elbe], were the pilot left the ship. Around four o'clock they saw Helgoland North north east on one and a half mile and then took a West North west course and immediately calculated there position.

November thirty they, appearing, had wind from the South west, that kept on growing and so all openings in the Mars sail were closed, lying west wards and sounding twenty to twenty three fathoms of water (*in the margin we read:* some time later 14, 13, 12 fathoms of

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92) These same names, with some variation in the spelling, are also to be found on a crew list for the Dorothea in the Hamurger Staatsarchiv.

93) Like Schliemann, notary Kikkert had often trouble in getting his names right, while his knowledge of the current geographical organization too was not completely up to date.

water), by which they made out that they were on the Doggersbank [94]) and without encountering anything remarkable the wind kept on coming from the West North west to the South West until December ninth last when it grew out into a gale, on which the sails were taken up.
That the first appearing with his officers on that day were able to make observations which showed them that there calculations were in order and then set course to South West of West.
That during the night the storm grew in violence, with high and wild seas, by which the appearing started to fear that they would sail everything over board and so they decided to place the west ward directed for sail, as to keep as much as possible away from the dutch coast. The ship however drifted away fast, which they saw by the sounding that was done every two bells
That December ten the wild weather stayed with heavy showers from the North North west, sounding continually a twenty three and twenty four fathom deep mud soil and laying West and west of South.
On December eleven the weather stayed wild, just like the next day, with heavy gale winds, in such a way that it was impossible to carry sail, which in the night following that day became even worse, sounding from that time on less and less depth as from fifteen to thirteen fathom, so that they, who appear here, became aware that they were nearing the dutch coast, on which immediately was decided, not with standing the bad weather, by power of sail to keep of the coast, which immediately was done by putting up more and more sail, with as a result that the ship by the terrible wind was pushed completely on her side, but not with standing these means the appearing stayed on loosing and sounded less and less depth. In this very unpleasant situation they sounded around four o'clock ten fathoms of water and only fifteen minutes later a heavy ground sea rolled over the ship, while it at the same moment terribly kicked (*in the margin:* and while kicking finally got stuck), so that they who appeared feared that the mast and all that was on deck would go over board. The sea rolled over the ship and covered it totally and in this situation the large boat was put over board with grave danger and heavy exertion, which boat more than once on deck was filled with water and often totally was turned over. That after this the first officer with a couple of sailers went below deck to get the ours of the big boat and came back with the massage that the water was already on the cargo and the water casks were a float, by which they knew that ship and cargo were lost.
That after this the crew fled in the boat and the appearing captain, who was not willing, or only in the highest danger, to leave the ship that was entrusted to him, by the same crew was pressingly asked to also come in the boat, which he finally, while all others were already in it, did.
That after that, the appearing, after the boat often almost was filled with water, after lots of danger and not without grave exertion, finally in the morning of December twelve at around six thirty arrived on land, after which they found out to be at the Eyerlandsche beach on the island of Texel, and that while they were there the captain was joined by the gentleman Zunderdorp and Ran, ships agents on Texel, which gentleman have been appointed by the appeared to his assistants as was, since the ship was already in pieces, the agent of the receiver of wrecks, so that it would be possible with there assistance to do everything that was possible for the regaining of cargo and rigging.
That he, appearing captain, came on the tenth of this month to the village of den Burg and there had passed the excepted sea protest and at his return, on the place of the stranding, found that the ship had already capsized, and that some boards of the bow lay scattered

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94) Schliemann's statement that they were a 100 miles out of Cuxhaven and 80 out of Hull also makes for a position on the Doggersbank, but according to Schliemann they had not reached this position before December 7.

around, and by further investigation became clear to him, appeared, that of the ship nothing could be saved or recovered, since everything was covered by sand and so is lost.
That he, appearing, with his crew has left for the village of den Burg, as to there give notice of what has happened and than to let the crew go. And so the appearing end here with there statement swearing for reasons of knowledge to have seen, experienced and witnessed all that is mentioned before and still having everything fresh in there memory, while further on they declare, together and everyone for him self, in all respect to have done there duty and there utmost for saving the ship and cargo, while the accident that happened to them is only to be attributed to the unceasing storm and heavy sea and not on faulty calculations or neglect of duty, and that they are at all times ready to swear the trues of this.

Which is noted.
Made and passed at the town hall of Texel in den Burg, in the presence of Cornelis Moojen, island messenger and Maarten Daalder, agent of the court of justice, both living in den Burg, earlier mentioned and especially asked as witnesses.
And in this minute, after being read, signed by appeared, witnesses and us notary, however the fifth appearing declares not to be able to write or sign." 95)

Contrary to the letter to the Sisters and all later reports of Schliemann, this report was made by a captain and a crew who knew there job and was not meant for the general public, but for the ship owners of which we can be sure that they too knew about ships and sailing. Of course there is no prove that the captain and crew did not make the story some what more favourable for them self, but since there audience knew the possibilities they will have had pretty little room for falsifying. So we can take it that this is the most reliable source there is about the shipwreck of the Dorothea. I won't go in on all the small details, but this story immediately makes sure that no lives were lost and that Schliemann was no part of the crew. This however also leaves us with a problem. Was Schliemann on board. If there were any passengers than they must have gone lost under the heading of "different goods". Luckily the captain is not the only one that had a paper written about this disaster. As soon as ships go under there is wreckage and were there is loss for one there is gain for the other. Wreckage hunting is an age old profession on any coast in the world and certainly on the Dutch coast. It always served as a nice little extra for the poor people on the islands, but as soon as there is money to be made we can be sure that the state wants its part and so every district and island had its own receiver of wrecks, who made sure that the state got its revenues. At December the 12 the Texel receiver of wrecks reported to his superior.

"To his excellency the privy councillor of the province of Noord Holland.
I have the honour of reporting to your excellency that this morning the hamburger Brig Dorothea is stranded in the "Eierlandsche Banken". It was on its way from Hamburg to Layaira with different goods under captain J. Simonsen. This last has, with his crew and three passengers, together 16 man, safely reached the Eierlandse huis and has asked for the help of the receiver of wrecks even if it is highly unlikely that anything is to be saved of the expensive ship and cargo.
The receiver of wrecks of the department of Texel, Bok." 96)

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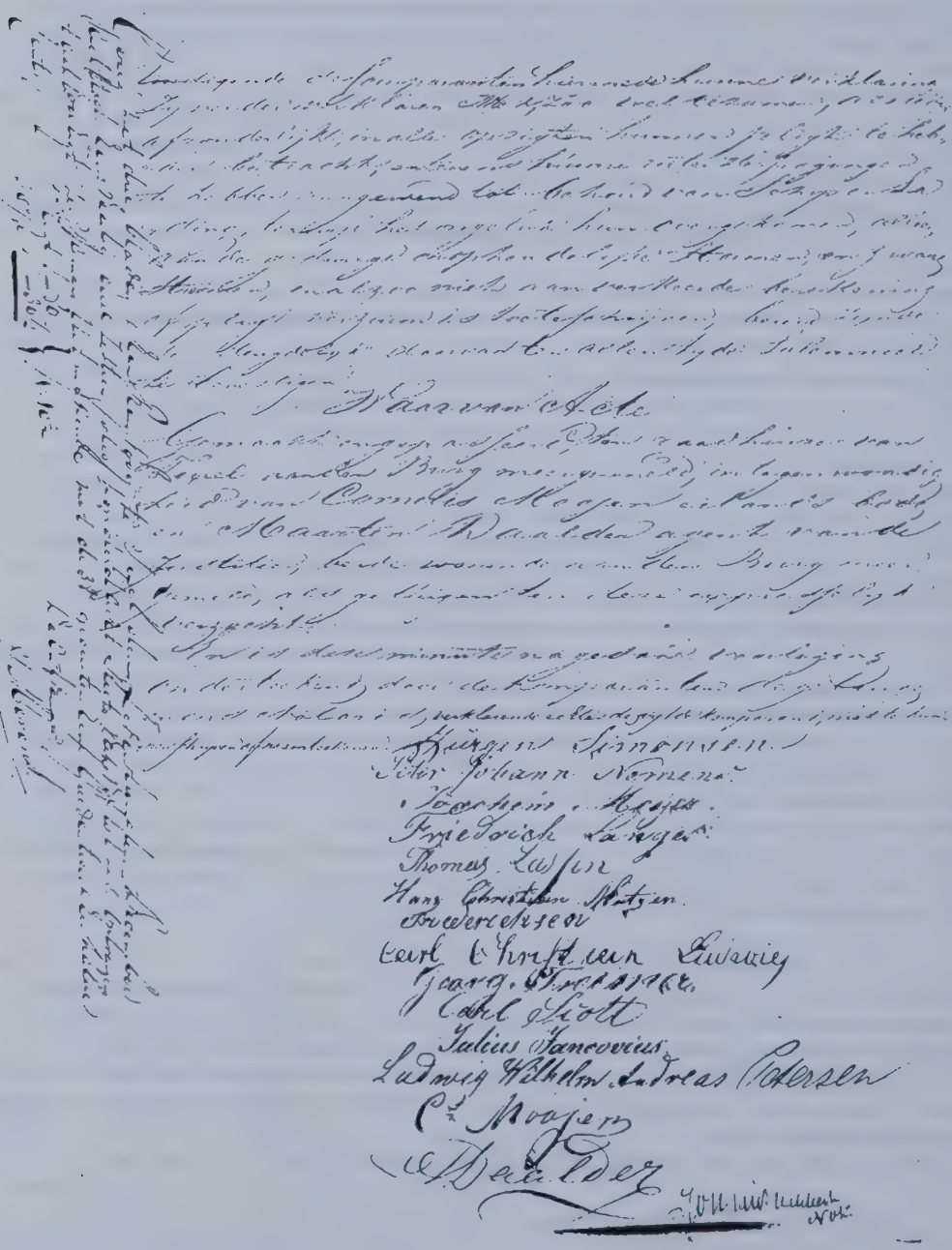
95) Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord Holland, archief notaris Kikkert N738

96) Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord Holland, archief van het Provincie Bestuur Noord Holland 1841, stuk 1996.
It's clear that the spelling of Schliemann's destination was not really known on the island of Texel.



And so it's clear that Schliemann was right when he told his sisters that there were three passengers on board. That Schliemann had most of the dates wrong does not really mean to much, he had no log and wrote the story sometime later in Amsterdam. It's quite understandable that he didn't really remembered all the correct dates, he probably didn't even bother to get them right since he knew that it would be impossible for his sisters to check and they anyway were probably only meant to give his sisters an impression of the hardened and experienced traveller there little brother had become. This was not the little boy from backwards Mecklenburg writing, this was the man of the world, who had faced death and lived to tell the story. In this light it's also nice to note how Schliemann's vision of heroics changed during his live. In the letter to his sisters it's the danger of the shipwreck that is enlarged to make him self bigger, in his official autobiography it's poverty and his heroic fight with the odds that are against him, that make him the hero.
There is however still a change that Schliemann was not a board and has made up the whole story. The story appeared, between the fourteeth and sixteeth in four papers.

"ZEE-POST. Tuesday December 14, 1841
TEXEL December 13. The hamburg Brik Dorothea, Capt. Simonsen, from Hamburg with different goods to Laguayra, is yesterday night, after having been through terrible storms, stranded in the Eierlandsche Gronden, it sits very dangerously and will get totally lost, the crew has safely arrived on Eierland, one will try to save as much as possible of the cargo." [97])

As the papers do not speak about passengers it's clear that Schliemann could not have this piece of information from the press. In his later life Schliemann gave us some tantalizing hints that he had prove for his adventure. In a letter from April 11, 1883 to Minna Richters we can read following:

"Engel should also remember how I, at the moment that we were ready to leave for the unknown, for Hamburg, got a letter from a merchant from Gransee, who offered me a place with a yearly income of 60 Thaler and how we, Engel, Ruthenberg and I in high council decided to reject it. ... This letter was together with my briefcase saved from the shipwreck and is now in a frame hanging above my writing table." [98])

This of course sounds real nice, but what should we do with it. We know that Schliemann did not go with three friends to Hamburg, so how else can we judge this story than as just an other bit of self dramatising. There might however be some trues in this story since we seem to refind this letter in an other source.

"He showed us also some letters, one from Gladstone, an other from Kaiser Wilhelm and a third from a Merchant (probably from La Guira) who, in his youth, promised him an income from 45 pound. This letter has suffered by a shipwreck and has become lemon yellow, but Schliemann saves it carefully and shows it with pride to every visiter as a prove of his low

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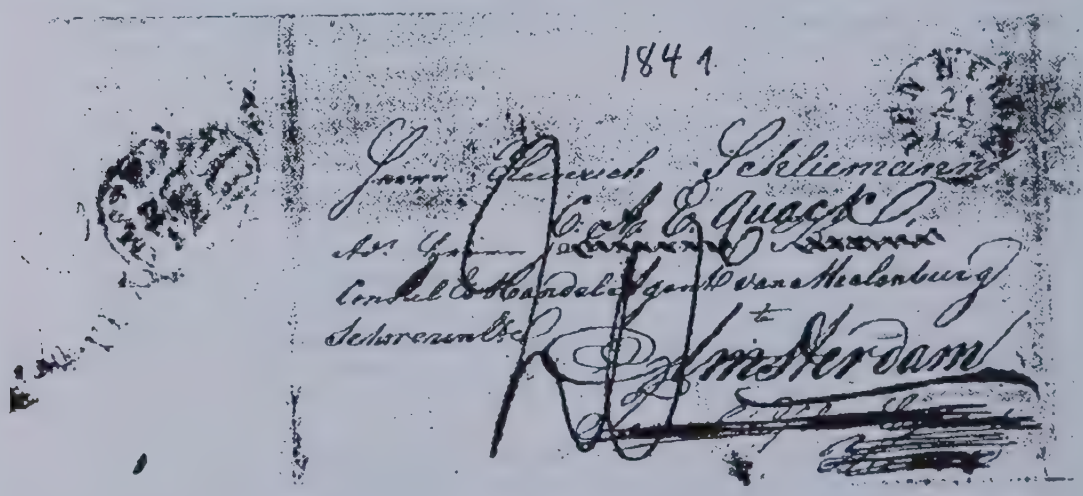
97) ZEE-POST, tuesday December 14
NIEUWE AMSTERDAMSCHE COURANT - ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD, wednesd. Dec. 15
AMSTERDAMSCHE COURANT, wednesday Dec. 15
ROTTERDAMSCHE COURANT, thursday Dec. 16
All papers use more or less the same wording and doubtlessly go back on the same source.

98) Meyer Briefwechel Part II p. 152

start." 99)

This might be the same letter or it might be a different one. If this letter really existed than it's unknown were it's to day. I however have my doubts. The letters of recommendation that we still have show no traces of ever having been in the water. Still we have to take it for certain that those letters, that were meant as introductions for South American firms, must have been in the possession of Schliemann when he was on his way. He clearly would have needed them as soon as he reached Venezuela. So they must have survived the stranding and have reached land without getting damaged. This gives some credibility to Schliemann's little box story 100), but it also makes me doubt the exitance of a by sea water lemon yellow coloured letter. There is however an other letter that throws a lot of light on this episode in Schliemann's live. As we have heard that Schliemann asked the captain to write a letter to Wendt in Hamburg. This letter is lost, but we can be sure that it onces excisted, than we still have the answere of Wendt. This letter dates from Hamburg December 17. 1841. The original adress is latter crossed out and so some what hard to read, but we can be sure that it originally was adressed to the gentelmann Zunderdorp and Ran. It's, probably by those gentlemann, forwarded to E. Quack in Amsterdam and a postige name stamp shows on the left hand side of the letter shows that it has been in Texel.



"My dear Schliemann!
Your letter of the twelfth of this month has become mine and see to my unhappiness that you were struck by an accident. It really is hart to see one self deceived of all expectations, however you can feel your self lucky that you came out of it alive. ..." 101)

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99) Neustrelizer Zeitung Nr. 10-13. 1884; Schliemann in seiner Häuslichkeit. It's a translation from the Greek magazine Hestia. I Quote Stoll, Alexander; Abenteuer meines Lebens, Heinrich Schliemann erzählt. Leipzig 1958. p. 250

100) Crepon/Bolke p. 69 "The case episode is doubtlessly later invented as a picturesque moment, he otherwise certainly would not have been silent about it in his letter to his sisters."

101) Gennadius Library 7

Wendt is clearly sympathetic to Schliemann, but he is not surprised to hear that Schliemann had survive a shipwreck and so we can be sure that he knew that Schliemann was a board of the Dorothea.

"I had to stay that night in the Inn in den Burg and started the next morning, so December 17, with Deyckmann, the skipper of a market-boat, which was paid by Mr. Ramm, on a trip over the Zuyder-See [Zuider Zee] to the capital [Amsterdam]." [102])

Three days later, December 19, he made a start with the next important face in his life.

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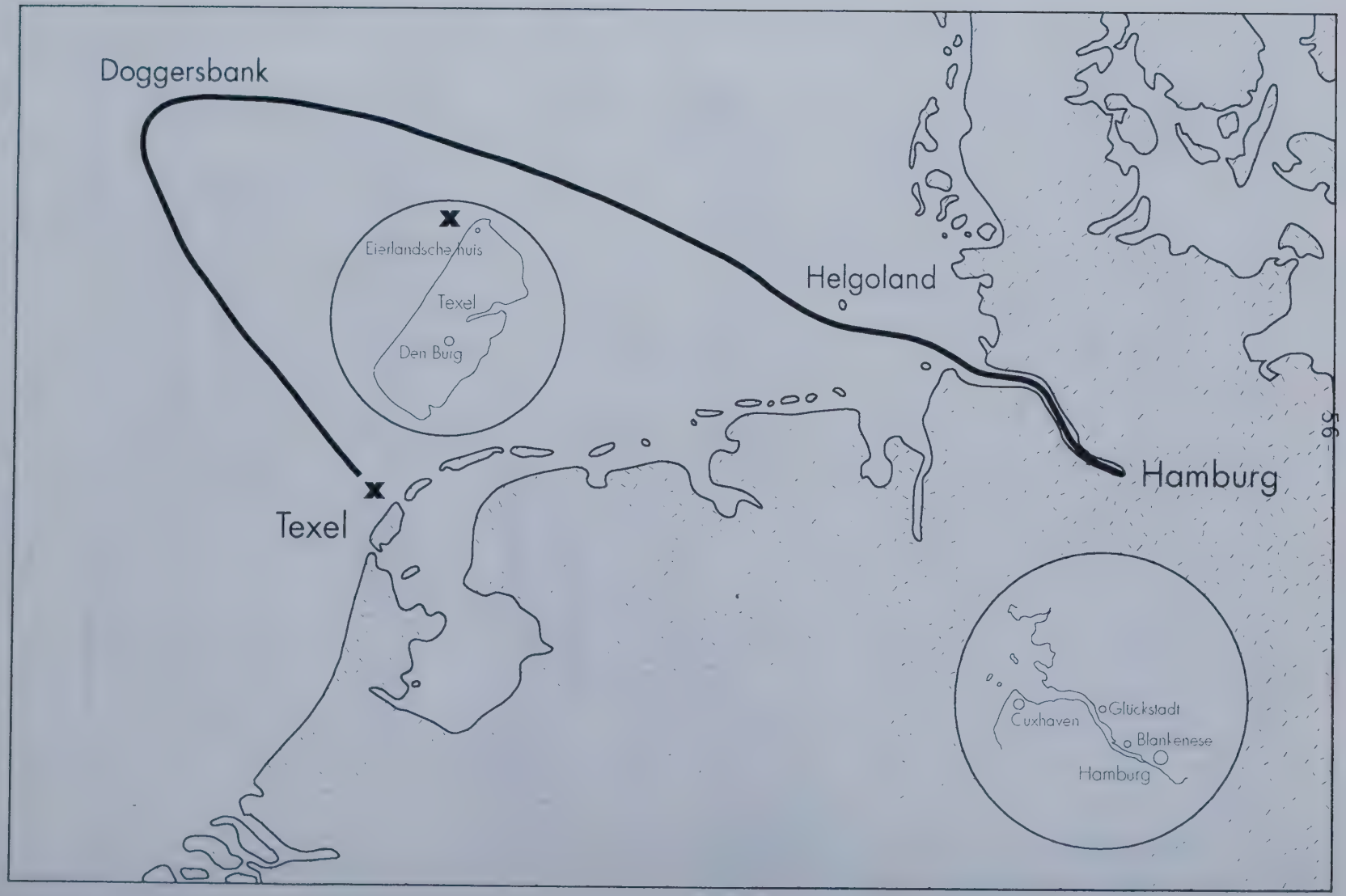
102) Meyer Briefwechsel I p. 26


Doggersbank
Eierlandsche huis
Texel
Den Burg
Helgoland
Hamburg
Texel
Cuxhaven
Glückstadt
Blankenese
Hamburg

Amsterdam

In the seventeenth century Amsterdam was one of the economic centres of the world. Large fortunes were earned and the merchants, who did this, liked to show it. Amsterdam became a beautiful city.

"You have no idea of the beauty of the buildings here and the elegance of there interiors. Hoyack's house, in which our office is, is one of the most beautiful on the Keizersgracht; The high stair in front of the door, as well as the hall and all indoor stairs, is made out of marble." [103])

The Firm of Hoyack & Co., Keizersgracht 71.

In the eighteenth century, however, thing started to change and the Netherlands started to feel that they were to small a country to keep up what they had build in there high-days.

"The eighteenth century was, then, above all a period of rapidly developing merchant capitalism, and its greatest material reward went to that country which was in the best position for exploiting the possibilities of an expanding world market. Holland, in some respects admirably fitted for this role - for it had both a flourishing mercantile marine and an abundance of accumulated capital - lacked both the military power necessary for keeping its hold on the distant trade with Asia and America and sufficient manufacturing industries of

103) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 31

its own to afford a secure basis for commercial expansion. France, despite its advantages in wealth, population, and manufacturing skill, both dissipated its energies over-much in the quest for military supremacy in Europe and kept its industry and commerce in too close tutelage for them to develop freely. Germany was still far too divided, and for the most part too backward in both industry and commerce, to make any bid for supremacy in distant markets. Upon Great Britain, therefore, the new wealth which arose from the opening up of trade with East and West was showered most abundantly, and the foundations of Great Britain's commercial supremacy were laid even before the great inventions had begun to revolutionise the methods of production." [104])

It's clear that the Napoleonic wars not only meant economic ruin for France, but also for mainland Europe. The Continental system, with which Napoleon tried to kill of the British economic system, was probably one of the final blows for Amsterdam. In the early parts of the nineteens century this city had become in decline.

"During the 19th century, the Amsterdam economy underwent a process of profound reorientation following the collapse of the city's position as world trade entrepot. ... The bulk trade flows had moved away for good, and the large export-oriented sector of processing industries, shipyards and manufacturing firms withered to a handful of firms sufficient to meet local and regional needs. As a result, employment remained low and haphazard, consigning a desperately large part of the population to a life of chronic poverty." [105])

Schliemann however seems not to have noticed that the Amsterdam mercantile world was in decline.

"If it comes to size, all mercantile houses of Amsterdam, and I should say of the world, stand in our shadow, for there is no house, that has so many office employees and so much turnover as ours. Many hundreds of thousands of guilders come in daily and go out again, ..." [106])

It's clear that Schliemann had no real idea of the amsterdam economic situation. But than the old beauty of the city is still there and at first view it must still have looked very prosperous.

"... in the evening, after the office is closed, I walk through the city to see the beautiful lightning of the streets and the houses, than every street lantern and every shop, until the egg shop, is lighted by beautiful gas light, ..." [107])

It seems however that Schliemann had not really seen Amsterdam as it was, when he wrote to his Sisters in February 1842. Amsterdam too, as all other major cities, had its bad

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104) Cole, G.D.H.; Introduction to economic history 1750-1950. London 1952. p. 38.

105) Jonker, Joost; Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen. The Amsterdam money market during the first half of the 19th century. Amsterdam 1996. p. 77. Jonker makes a side remark to the generally dark painting of Amsterdam in those years. p. 54 "... if describing the Amsterdam economy during the first half of the 19th century in terms of stagnation and decline, one must bear in mind the thriving industrial activities going on in several sectors at the same time." These sectors however were to small to keep up the city as a total.

106) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 31

107) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 32

quarters, were poverty ruled. However there was no shortage of houses.

"... from 1795 until 1850 Amsterdam was a dead city. In these 85 years the number of lived in houses declined from 26,400 to 25,877." [108])

A very large part of the Amsterdam population lived in chronic unemployment and was dependent on "poverty help". There to came that Amsterdam had quit a large alcohol problem in those days. Exact figures are hard to come by, but the following will give some indication. Between 1809 and 1815 the amsterdam population drank 34,7 litre jenever, 17 litre beer and 6,8 litre wine per head per year. [109]) Here however we have to realize that this was not only done as an escape from poverty. Amsterdam had a chronic leak of good drinking water and alcohol was a lot saver.

"The drinking of water is not in fashion here, since they do not have it, thanks to the marshiness of the location of Amsterdam. All canal water is salty [and used as public latrine] and so all the water, which is used in cooking, is collected by way of gutter, it is however so poisonous, that there is many a death by poisoning." [110])

Thérèse Schwartze. Three Girls in Amsterdam Orphanage.

In the second half of the nineteens century Amsterdam slowly started to climb out of the depth in which it had landed. It slowly started to find a connection with the industrial revolution. One of the first signs of the new developments, that in 1846 still had to come, is also visible in the letter that Schliemann wrote to his sisters: The Amsterdam - Haarlem railroad. This was the first dutch rail road which was opened in 1839. It only went a

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108) Miranda, S. Rodrigues de; Amsterdam en zijne bevolking in de negentiende eeuw. Amsterdam ?. p.141

109) Miranda pp. 146-149

110) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 31

relatively small distance, but it was a start and a sign that steam was coming to this country.

"... I go to the Haarlem gate and look at the many steam trains that depart on the Amsterdam - Haarlem railroad." [111])

And so Schliemann saw progress in a city in decline. For a Mecklenburg country boy Amsterdam surely must have looked a great and prosperous city, but Schliemann just came from a, in those days, more prosperous city, Hamburg. That Amsterdam looked better to him was certainly the result of its seventeenth century lay-out and building, were Hamburg still had a much older structure and so had a much more village like look. We also can wonder in how far Schliemann reacted on a cultural difference. Hamburg was a german city and Schliemann was a german boy, even if he was in an other country, he was still inside his own cultural realm. Amsterdam was a foreign country, with foreign habits and Schliemann was probably, especially in the first month, excited by all the new things he saw.

"Everything is here very big city, every barber has 4-6 beautiful female dolls with beautiful coiffures in its window. these turn all day. You have no idea how beautiful this looks by gaslight ..." [112])

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111) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 32

112) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 32

With a little protection

"There engagement were praiseworthy, and I happily listened to them, when they spoke of the many means and ways in which one could acquire some thing; they also preferred to speak about people, that now were very rich and had started with nothing. Others had, as poor shop servants, made them self necessary for there patrons and were finally elevated to there sons in law; still others had a stall, with sulphurwire and such things, bettered and so much enlarged, that they now looked like rich merchants and tradesman. Especially such young man, who were good on there legs, messenger-boys and broker-helpers and those that took up of all kind of commissions and delivery jobs for rich men, who required help, could often find a good living. We all liked to hear such stories and everybody thought something, when he thought of the moment that he him self had so much, not only to come forwards in the world, but to make an exceptional fortune. Nobody however seemed to be more serious in these talks than Pylades, who finally confessed, that he loved a girl exceptionally and that he had engaged him self with her. The financial circumstances of his parents made it impossible for him to go to a academy, he however had a beautiful hand of writing, had been diligent in accounting and the modern languages and was now ready, to do his best, to acquire his homely happiness." [113])

And so Schliemann started his foreign career in a city that, as we have seen, went from economic crisis to economic crisis. A city were it was very hard to get a steady job, unless one had something to offer, that all those others hadn't. Schliemann however gives us a totally different picture of Amsterdam and during the rest of his life stayed thankful to her.

"Athens March 27. 1875. ... indeed the benevolent sympathy of the Dutch is the sweetest reward that my work could receive, than the dutch have except me with compassion and kindness when I, at the end of 1841, ignorant, naked and bare reached there country. The in born sense for the beauty and the noble of the dutchman, Amsterdam's merchants, the many different languages that are spoken there and finally the encouragement to self development, that was, time and again, given to me by my patrons, made for the corner stone of my happiness and forged and sharpened the pickaxe and the spade for the excavation of homeric Troy, which I never would have been able to discover if I had not had my mercantile education in Amsterdam." [114])

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113) Goethe; Aus meinem Leben. Wahrheit und Dichtung. Erster Theil, Fünftes Buch.

114) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 280-281. Original letter in more or less faultless dutch. Six years later Schliemann wrote the following lines in his official autobiography, Ilios p. i.: "If I begin this book with my autobiography, it is not from any feeling of vanity, but from a desire to show how the work of my later life has been the natural consequence of the impressions I received in my earliest childhood; and that, so to say, the pickaxe and spade for the excavation of Troy and the royal tombs of Mycenae were both forged and sharpened in the little German village in which I passed eight years of my earliest childhood."
There however seems to have been an ever lasting influence of Amsterdam on Schliemann.

But than it was not only Amsterdam that had some thing special in those days, no, in the end it was Schliemann him self, as he later tooled his son.

"During my stay in Amsterdam, from 1842 to 1846, I did real wonders. There I did what no one ever did and no one ever will do." [115])

In this way Schliemann tried to stimulate his son's intellectual abilities. Now I'm not qualified to say anything about the pedagogical qualities of this approach, but I'm sure glad that my father never wrote me such a letter. Even while for Schliemann Amsterdam always stayed important, he him self was for Amsterdam nothing but one of the many, that left no trace in the Archives [116]) and so all we can do is use a critical eye in reading what Schliemann him self tooled us and compare that to what is known of his surroundings.

"We had only just landed at the texel quay when I left the market-boat and went over the bridge [pier]. A number of shoe-polishers, who stood on it (there is quite a very large number of these, that beside for shoe cleaning are used in the same way as those that stay at the corners in Berlin and that are just as those laughed about and who are to be found on the many bridges here and to anybody who passes call out: Mijn heer schoe maken?) believed, thanks to my strange cloth, to see a future college in me and spoke of concurrence." [117])

And so Schliemann immediately get's his first gimps of the economic situation in Amsterdam. The large number of unemployed try to make a living as shoe polishers and occasional errant boys. In Schliemann's two autobiographies we find no observations of this kind, there it is his own poverty that is shown off. According to his official autobiography Schliemann had a clear plan, when he went to Amsterdam, that unfortunately did not work out.

Sayce, A.H.; Reminiscences. London 1923. I quote here from: Lehrer, M.; Die aufschlußreichen Mängel von Heinrich Schliemann Selbstbiographie. Klio 71. 1989. p. 651 "... the fact that owing to this [Schliemann's} first acquaintance with business having been at Amsterdam he always instinctively used the Dutch names of the numerals when counting mentally." I find this highly remarkable since he must have done quite a lot of counting before he reached Holland.

115) Meyer Briefwechsel I. p. 173

116) And even if he ever had made the archive it's still very questionable if he still would be in it to day. According to the head archival of the Amsterdam city archive there is a large hole for the period between 1811 and 1850.

117) Meyer Briefwechsel I p. 26-27
Ludwig too used this part, pp. 58-59, but it seems that he hadn't read the letter to careful: "Here, close to the coast of Texel, Schliemann is, without knowing were he is, carried away by helping hands. 'however terrible pains tortured me and I cried loud, since both my for tooth were broken away and I had as well in my face as in my body deep wounds. Everything were as lame, my feet thickly swollen .. We had more at the bridge of the texel warehouse. So I left the ship and stepped on the bridge. A number of shoe-polishers, who stood on it (there is quite a very large number of these, that beside for shoe cleaning are used in the same way as those that stay at the corners in Berlin and that are just as those laughed about and who are to be found on the many bridges here and to anybody who passes call out: Mijn heer schoe maken?) believed, thanks to my strange cloth to see a future college in me and spoke of concurrence'". In the chapter that follows Ludwig gives his reader a description of Schliemann's days at Texel."Mijn heer schoe[n] maken". This clearly broken dutch, Sir shoe make.

"My intention to enlist as a soldier could not be realized so soon as I had imagined." [118])

We don't find this intention in the letter to the sisters and it's highly doubtfull if Schliemann really had the intention to join the army when he arrived in Amsterdam. In those days the dutch army did not take up foreingers, only the dutch east indie army used those. Quit a lot of young germann boys came with this institution for six years to dutch easy indie and lived there a dangerous life for a rather low pay. Here we have to take a quick look at the end of Schliemann's letter to his sisters. He tell's them what his future plans were.

"Even while this undertaken has failed, my wish to travel has not disappeared and I am sure that, when I have been here for 6 years and have obtained a good knowledge of the way they do business here and have saved something, I will go by way of Batavia to Japan, to try my luck there, ..." [119])

If Schliemann really had known about the east indian army in those days, he would have known that this was his best chance to go to Batavia. The six years that he now was willing to spend in Amsterdam, he would have spend in East Indie and after that he would have been a free man and could go were ever he wanted. Of course he would not have had any training as a merchant during his stay with the army, but on the other hand having a training as a merchant would make it very hard for him to find his way to Batavia. Even while the absolute trade monopoly on East Indie was no longer in force, the dutch government still tried it's utmost to keep foreigners out and it probably would have been very hard for a young german merchant to settle there. As for Japan things were even worse. Between 1650 and 1854 the only point of contact between Japan and the western world was the dutch trading post on the island of Deshina. It was not until 1854 that this land opened it self for the rest of the world. So it was more or less impossible for Schliemann, unless the dutch government would have send him [120]), to go to Japan in 1854. This makes clear how vague Schliemann's plans must have been. This remark to his sisters was probably no more than a first understanding of what the origin of the amsterdam trade was. In his official autobiography Schliemann tells us the following about his start in Amsterdam:

".. the few florins which I had collected as alms on the island of Texel and in Enkhuyzen [121]) , as well as the two florins which I obyained from Mr. Quack, the consul for Mecklenburg at Amsterdam, were soon spent in the tavern of Mrs. Graalman in the Ramskoy at Amsterdam, where I had taken my lodgings." [122])

In his american autobiography this story is some what more dramatically.

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118) Ilios pp. 8-9

119) Meyer Briefwechel I p. 32

120) This was not totally impossible as is shown by the fact that in 1823 the german biologist Philipp von Siebold was send to Deshima to serve as doctor and to collect as much information as possible about Japan. He was in high esteem by Japanese scholars but only rarely allowed to leave the dutch settlement.

121) Thanks to the still raging storm, the boat, on which Schliemann sailed, was held up for two days, more or less half way between Texel and Amsterdam, in Enkhuizen.

122) Ilios p. 9

"I went immediately with my letter to the Consul's, but when I rung the housebell and the servant opened, she thought by my dilecerated clothes that I was a beggar and shut the door immediately. I rung again, and as soon as the servant opened I threw my letter in the corridor crying at the same time that she might give it to the Consul. She did so, wherupon the Consul sent me 2 guilders (about 1 Silver-rubel), informing me at the same time that I might never address myself again to him. I then went back to the shipper who had brought me from Texel and who recommended me to a sailor's tavern in the street called Raamkooy [123]) where I boarded and lodged 2 days at the rate of one guilder a day. I found myself in the last extremety, because the landlady of the tavern, 'Widow Graalman', having remarked that I had no more money, wanted to turn me out, ..." [124])

It is nice to see that in his official autobiography Schliemann shows him self to his readers as a beggar, while in the american autobiography he takes some pain to contradict that idea. In the letter to the sisters we again find a different story.

"I went into a common inn in the Ramskoy, which was mentioned to me by the skipper, told my story to the landlord and asked him for some writing tools. He gave me paper and a pen and I wrote a letter in french to the consul for Mecklenburg, painted for him my by god and all people deserted situation and asked him for help and support so that I would be able to find my way here in an honest way. I put the letter of recommendation of Sonderburg & Ramm in it and went to him my self. He lived in a palace like building on the Amstel [125]); not withstanding that I did not dawdler to get closer and gave him, without saying anything else, the letter. He read it, said he felt sorry for me, gave me ten guilder [126]), showed me an inn and promised me also to look after me in the future, for which I wás always allowed to come to the Exchange, were he stood at Nr. 34. After that I went to a second hand shop and equipped my self, I bought an old coat, a pair of trousers, a waistcoat, shoes, heat and stockings and I was completely clothed, Than I went to the inn that was pointed out to me and refreshed my self." [127])

So this time we have a very friendly consul that is ready to help Schliemann. Now we can ask our self how Schliemann's relation with consul Quack, in those early days really was. Unfortunately I've been unable to find even the smalerst trace of Quack's archive and so I have no idea how he felt about Schliemann or what he did in those days. We have however a

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123) There is some confusion about the name of this street. Now a days it's called Ramskooi, but in a description in the Geemeente Archief of Amsterdam from 1837 it was called Raamskooi. This was probably a spellings mistake since Ramskooi means cage for a ram, while Raamskooi means cage for a window.

124) Webber pp. 8-9. It seems that this version has a special attraction to the popular biographers. We find it as well in Payne, Robert; The Gold of Troy, as in Poole, Lynn & Gray; One Passion Two loves: the Schliemanns of Troy.

125) Casper Adolph Quack, consul and merchants agent for Mecklenburg in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and 's Gravenhage lived at the corner of the Amstel and Paardenstraat.

126) I won't go in on the amount of money that Schliemann got from Quack. In Ilios Schliemann tried to show how poor he was and it is highly likely that in the letter to the sisters he wanted to show how well things went with him. So both statements are suspect and since I was unable to find an impartial source we just don't know.

127) Meyer Briefwechel I p. 27

small indication in an undated rough draught of a frenche letter that Schliemann probably wrote to Quack on behalf of his brother. It was probably written some were in 1842, but that's not really certain.

Quack lived in the forth house from the left.

"In recognition of the signs of kindness that you, without having to, time and again give to me, I decided, by pressing family concern, to ask you a favour in the name of my brother. This young man, who already for five years is in the service of some important Meckelenburg houses, is comming to Amsterdam. Partly to enlarge his mercantile knowlidge and partly to join me. I hope that you, as my powerful protector, will give some of your good will to him when you hear about a vacant possition in a mercantile house." [128])

Even considering the fact that Schliemann clearly wrote this letter with honey, we can take it for granted that he thought it was worth while to give it a try. This at least indicates that Schliemann's experiences with Quack weren't as bad as he later wrote in his american autobiography. It gives me the feeling that Quack took his position as consul seriously and was ready to do something for the inhabitants of Mecklenburg that called on him.
A second problem is to be seen in the inn were Schliemann stayed. According to the letter to his sisters he first, on the advise of the skipper, went to an inn in the Ramskooi and latter went to an inn that was pointed out to him by the consul. In this version the proprietor of the first inn seems to have been a man and has no name. In the latter versions it becomes the Widow Graalman and Mrs. Graalman. Here we run into a real peculiar problem. In the population register of Amsterdam we find a Catrina Margaretta Graalman, the daughter of Jan Graalmand and Anna Catrina Heiken, who lived during her live at Raamskooi no. 18. There is no date of birth, she had no occupation and was unmarried and than we get a real surprise, she died at March 20, 1837 at three in the afternoon. She was already five years dead when Schliemann reached Amsterdam and so it's absolutely impossible that he ever met her. Where Schliemann found this name and why he used it is an absolute mystery to me.

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128) Gennadius Library 44(a). File "H. Schliemanns family" under "Letters to third persons" It's possible that this letter is from a later date since Louis Schliemann did not come to Amsterdam until early 1845

Now that the first pressing business is behind him the consequences of the ship wreck make them self felt. Or was it something else?

"As my means of living were entirely exhausted, I feigned illness and was taken into the hospital." [129])

How do I have to read this line. Did Schliemann try to swindle his landlord, did he try to stay in the inn by faking an illness and did they work him out by sending him to the hospital, or did he straight away try to swindle him self into the hospital. This story is not really likely. Amsterdam was a harbour city with a loot of poor people and it's unlikely that a hospital took them in without being sure that they got paid. I've checked the records of het Binnen Gasthuis and found no mentioning of any provision for patients that could not pay. It's logical to suspect that they were especially careful were it came to foreigners. A penniless foreigner was often a sailor waiting for his next ship. They probably were not in the habit of giving this kind of patient any credit since changes were very slim that they ever saw him back after he had found a new ship. Schliemann seems to have known that this was a problem cause in his american version he made his story more plausible.

"... I was at a loss what I was to begin in my state of utter destitution, in the depth of winter, without any means for subsistence. In this dilemma I resorted to a trick, and feigning to be very ill I requested the landlady to send to the Consul and to get for me a certificate of admittance in the hospital (gasthuis op de Oudezydsachterburgwall [130])). The landlady who was afraid that I was really sick, and that she might be forced by the police to keep me till my recovery, hastened to procure me said certificate and I was on the same day admitted in the hostital and got bed no. 66." [131])

This however still leaves us with the problem of the faked illness. Would the hospital, even with the help of a consul have taken in a patient that wasn't sick. This to me is very unlikely. Now we know that Schliemann had been through a shipwreck and so it is much more likely that he really suffered from some after effects and that both the above descriptions are nothing but romantic tales. I like however to point out that Schliemann in both versions tells his readers that he saw nothing wrong in this kind of fraudulent behaviour. In the letter to his sisters however we get a totally different story.

"I was very much taken and soon had to go to bet were I was attacked by a heavy wound-fever and was tortured by an unbearable tooth-ache. When I also was unable to leave my bet on the second and third day, the anxious landlady believed that the illness would take a long time and so told me that she could not keep me; I had to go to the hospital (Gasthuis or Siekenhuis) for which I needed an attest of the consul. And so she send my request to him; he satisfied my wish. wrote some friendly lines to me and again send me 10 guilder. Than I payed my landlady and was transported by sledge to the hospital, were I spend the beautiful Christmas festivity with the most terrible pains. On Christmas eve the roots of my two broken front

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129) Ilios p. 9

130) This is het Binnen Gasthuis. Amsterdam had in those days a second hospital, het Buiten Gasthuis, but that was more generally used for what we now call psychiatrical cases.'

131) Webber p. 9

teeth were dug out. The pains of this exertion was so terrible that I screamed." [132])

Now that Schliemann seems to have hit rock bottom the tide turns. Lady luck starts smiling again and we get a real christmas story.

"From this terrible situation I was released by the kind shipbroker already mentioned, Mr Wendt of Hamburg, to whom I had written from the Texel, informing him of my shipwreck and my intention to try my fortune at Amsterdam. By a lucky chance my letter reached him when he was sitting at a dinner party with numerous friends. The account of the disaster which had befallen me excited universal compassion, and a subscription which he at once raised for me produced the sum of 240 florins (£20), which he sent me through Consul Quack." [133])

The american autobiography shows some small variations in this story.

"Already on the day of my arrival at the island Texel, at my request the captain of the vessel had written to Mr. Wendt in Hamburg and, representing to him my intention to go to Amsterdam, requested him to send me a letter of recommendation for that place. It happened that Mr. Wendt got the letter when he with a large number of friends was sitting at a banquet; Mr. Wendt read the letter aloud, and he made immediately a collection in my favor, which produced f. 240 (or about 130 silver rubles). This brave man sent me the money in a letter of credit of Messrs. Kleinworth Brothers of Hamburg on Messrs. Hoyack & Co. of Amsterdam. These latter learned from the Consul Quack that I was in the hospital and immediately sent thither to inform me of my lucky fate. It was after having lain for eight days in the hospital, that I got the happy news ..." [134])

In the letter to the sisters the story runs along more or less the same line, but here we see more detail.

"On christmas-day Consul Ed. Quack him self came to me and gave me a letter that he had received and that was addressed to me. I broke it open, it was from M. Wendt, who had received my letter from Texel and thanks to that spoken with Messrs. Krogmann & Wachsmuth and asked hem it pay to me, for the time being, through there agents at Texel, for his account, 30 dutch gulden, to which they had agreed and about which they already had written to there captain. Further more he had brought a letter for me in circulation and hoped in this way to bring, with the help of some kind people, a couple of hundred gulden to gather and would I write him how I thought to go on; he thought it best when I went to Amsterdam." [135])

Wendt's letter however tooled Schliemann something different.

"This morning I have immediately at the Exchange spoken with the Herrn Krogmann and have asked them, for the time being, by there agent in place to pay to you 30 dutch guilders for

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132) Meyer Briefwechel I p. 27

133) Ilios p. 9

134) Webber pp. 9-10

135) Meyer Briefwechsel I. p. 28

my account, to which he immediately declared him self ready and about which he will write to his captain to night. He also promised me to do something more for you. I have tried to started these days a small collection for you and hoop in this way to bring a small sum together for you. Tell me in your next letter what you further plans are. I think that the best thing should be if you, for the time being, stayed with the crew, which probably will come back here. If however you see an other way to come forwards in Holland, please let me know so that we can see what we can do further and what kind of money we have in our hands by than. Looking forward to further information, with friendly greetings J.F. Wendt." [136])

According to the letter to the sisters Schliemann got the first results of Mr. Wendt's collection the next day.

"On the second day of Christmas I again got a letter of the consul, which was send him to by the here living Messrs. Hoyack & Co, ... It was a letter of Messrs. Kleinwort Gebrüder from Hamburg, as answer to a letter, that I shortly after my arrival here wrote to Mr. Wendt. These gentleman had given me a credit for fl 100 with Messrs. L. Hoyack & Co, about which I could use if I did it carefully." [137])

A little further on in this letter we get the end result of this action on behave of Schliemann.

"Last thursday [Febr.17.1842] I again got a letter from Mr. J.F. Wendt, in which he wrote, that he, through his friends the Kleinwort Gebrüder and in there presence, had made his acquaintance with our W. Hepner and these had given him the assurance that they were totally content with me and that the Kleinwort Gebrüder still kept-up the collection for me and that in this way, together with 100 gulden that I already had received, they had collected 353,4 hamb. Courant, for which I had a credit by my patron for fl. 250,50" [138])

Since the three accounts are more or less the same we can take it that Schliemann, after arrival in Amsterdam was financially helped through Wendt. In a later chapter I will try to find out how big this help really was, but for now we can be sure, that already shortly after Schliemann reached Amsterdam, his immediate financial worries were over. However to make sure that he would not get into real financial trouble in the future Schliemann needed to find a job. That was easier said than done in a city that was ravaged by unemployment thanks to an almost constant economical depression and above all in the middle of winter, when shipping had more or less come to a halt. Here the three versions differ highly from each other, but non of them speaks of these circumstances. But than it's clear that Schliemann was not just an other poor german boy, he had help.

"At the same time, he recommended me to the excellent Consul-General of Prussia at Amsterdam, Mr. W. Hepner who procured me a situation in the office of Mr. F.C. Quien." [139])

According to his american autobiography they found an other employer for him.

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136) Gennadius Library 7.

137) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 28

138) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 30

139) Ilios p. 9

"... I got the happy news and immediately went to the office of Messrs. Hoyack & Co., who ... produced me a place as office-boy in the counting-house of Messrs. B.H. Schröder & Co." [140])

It's clear that in both cases the firm of Hoyack & Co, to which Schliemann was introduced with the help of Wendt, was instrumental in him obtaining a job. From the letter to the sisters we even get the impression that Schliemann worked at there office.

"I was highly recommended by the Kleinwort Gebrüber, and they would, as far as they were possible, take care of me, they however were sorry that they could not place me in there office at this moment, while at this moment, thanks to the impossibility of sailing, there office was in rest. ... The patrons said that I for the time being could work at there office until they had found something else for me, that however when I would live up to there expectations they would gladly keep me. " [141])

There is something strange in what Schliemann tells his sisters here. The office of Hoyack & Co. is closed for the winter, but he is still allowed to work there for the time being and they will keep him when he is good enough. What should he do in a closed office and how should he prove that he was good enough? Unfortunately we have no second source of information for this period and so it's unclear what exactly happened to Schliemann in those days. There is however some tantalizing information that could confirm the version that Schliemann gave his readers in Ilios. In 1862 he wrote to count Bassi:

"M. W. Hepner of the firm of Hoyack & Co, felt sorry for me and helped me to get a job at the office of F.C. Quien, and I believe that I honoured his recommendation;... [142])

There is even an out side hint to this job in a privately printed family book of the Quien family.

"Around 1840 the well known archeologist Schliemann (Henry) (the important, in Neu-Buckow born, german archeologist and hellenist, who is honoured for finding the ruins of Troy and Mycenae, 1822-1890) worked at the firm of F.C. Quien. We have a number of letters of him from around 1856, when he worked in St. Petersburg and made large trades in indigo with the firm of F.C. Quien." [143])

We however have to be very careful with this remark. It was written long after Schliemann had become famouse and it's highly possible that the autor had his information from Schliemann's official autobiography. Schliemann is the only not Quien family member mentioned in this book and the autor clearly was not interested in the everyday running of the firm, but in the genological relation between the different members of this family. Schliemann probably only made it into this book to enlarge the glory of the family. In the end

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140) Webber p. 10

141) Meyer Briefwechel I. pp. 28-29

142) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 113

143) Notes sur l'Histoir de la Familie Quien Protestante et de ses ancetres Le Quien, ainsi que de la famille Le Quien de la Neufville par Frederik Carel Quien, né a Amsterdam le 8 septembre 1873. Florence - Anno Domini MCMXXXIX. pas dans le commerce. p. 80

this quotation only makes clear that there was a relation between the firm of F.C. Quien and Schliemann when the last lived in St. Petersburg. A probably some what less debatable remark is to be found in a letter from Virchow to Schliemann from 1879.

"My days in Amsterdam are coming to an end. Yesterday I have held, on the wish of our president, M. Donders, for the ladies and gentleman a reading about Troy in Felix meritis [144]) and guess who one of my listeners was? Mr. Quien (in case I write this name correctly), your old patron. However even to day he is still not really content with your work" [145])

Here however we have to be very careful too. Schliemann was already very famous and had, in 1869, published a sketch of what later would become his official autobiography as an introduction to Ithaque, le Péloponnèse et Troie. in which he had told his readers that he had misused his working hours, by the firm of F.C. Quien, for learning languages. So it is an open question in how far Mr. Quien remembered Schliemann's work and in how far he reacted on what Schliemann had written about it. And so in the end we have no real prove, but have to take Schliemann at his word when he tells us that he worked for the firm of F.C. Quien. That the firm of Hoyack & Co and especially one partner, W. Hepner, was instrumental in Schliemann's start in Amsterdam is however clear. In 1853 W. Hepner wrote the following lines to Schliemann:

".. to day I like to make, as good as possible, good for my silence and start of with thanking you for your friendship for me and my house; I'm glad that the interest, which I and my wife then took to your fait has found such a worthy object as you are, .." [146])

And so Schliemann started, without to much trouble, his mercantile carrier, with the help of Wendt and Hepner, in a city that was in decline and plagued by unemployment.

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144) Felix Meritis, an amsterdam art school which was famous for it's large collection of plaster casts of classical statues.

145) Herrmann, Joachim und Maaß, Evelin; Die Korrespondenz zwischen Heinrich Schliemann und Rudolf Virchow 1876-1890. Berlin 1990 p. 140.

146) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 51

Multatuli

Now that Schliemann has started of to become a dutch merchant it's time forus to see what kind of creature that exactly was. Here we are some what hindered by the fact that the dutch merchants did not indulge in the habit of diary writing. Luckily the dutch nineteenth century literature has left us with one merchant who can give us a kind of an inside view in this world: Batavus Droogstoppel. [147]) This amsterdam merchant is one of the main characters in Multatuli's "Max Havelaar, of de koffieveilingen der Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappy [Max Havelaar, or the coffee auctions of the Dutch Trading-Company]. [148]) Multatuli was the pseudonym of Eduard Douwes Dekker, a man that live a chequered life. He was born in 1820 as the son of a sea captain. Since he was meant to become a vicar his parents send him for some years to a latin school. He was no success and his education came to an early halt. After that he worked for some years as a clerk in a trade firm. Here it became clear to him that he had no future in Holland and so he went to Dutch East India when he was eighteen. In this dutch colony it was a lot easier to make a carrier and a fortune. It seems that he was a somewhat unrulely man and a number of times he got into conflict with his superiors. This however did at first not hinder his way up. In 1855 he became assistant governor for the Labak district. Here he came by a just, but to quick taken decision in trouble. Douwes Dekker got an official reprimand and was send to an other post. This was to much for his feeling of honour, he quite as to be able to work full time on his rehabilitation. He went back to holland to plead his case. Unfortunately he had no idea how to handle money and was only good in spending it and he soon was completely broke. The dutch government didn't want to listen to him and so he decided to play it through the press. The world should know about the injustice that was done to him. He had noticed the success of "Uncle Toms Cabin" and decided that a book would serve his case best. In a remarkable short time he than wrote "Max Havelaar" in a cold room on an attic in Brussels. During this work he found out that he had a remarkable literary talent and so one of the classic master pieces of dutch literature was born. The largest part of the book plays in the Dutch East Indie colony and is of no importance to us here. The story however starts of in Amsterdam, were the coffee broker
Batavus Droogstoppel, against his wish, becomes in possession of the larger part of the manuscript. The name of this trader immediately makes clear that Douwes Dekker didn't really like the amsterdam merchants and turned them into caricatures. He shows the wealthy middle class in all its smallness.

"I am broker in coffee and I live at the Lauriersgracht no. 37. It is not my habit to write novels or things like that and so it has taken quite along time before I decided to order a couple of ream of paper extra and to start this work, that you, dear reader, just have taken

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147) Batavus Droogstoppel. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century a teutonic tribe, Batavieren, were considered to be the basis of the dutch nation. The name Batavus should also be read as the "the absolute Dutch". Droogstoppel translates roughly as "Drystubble" and is meant to show that the man had absolutely no fantasy.

148) The Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappy was a semi governmental company who controlled most of the trade on Dutch East India (Indonesia).

in your hand and that you have to read if your broker in coffee or if you are something else. It is not only that I never did write anything that even looked like a novel, I do not even like to read something like that then I am a man of business. Already for years I wonder what is the use of such things and I am surprised about the shamelessness with which a poet or novelist dares to tell you things, that never have happened and more often than not, not even can happen. If I in my trade - I am broker in coffee and live at the Lauriersgracht no. 37 - to a principal - a principal is some one who sells coffee - made a statement, in which only a small part of the untruth was to be found, that makes out the main part of poetry and novels, he immediately would go to Busselinck & Waterman. Those too are brokers in coffee, but you do not have to know there address. So I take care that I do not write novels, or any other false declarations. I always have noticed, that people who concern them self with things like that, usually end up in a bad way. I am forty three years of age and visit the exchange since twenty years and so I can show my self as somebody who speaks from experience. I have seen a number of houses falling! And usually, when I checked out the course, it appeared to me, that this must be searched for in the wrong direction that to most was given in there youth."

Droogstoppel is a good businessmen, no nonsense for him and that's what his readers have to understand. Live is clear and fantasies can only bring you into trouble.

"A girl is an angel. The man who discovered that has never had any sisters. Love is divine. One flies with one or the other object to the end of the world. The earth has no end and love to is foolishness. Nobody can say that I do not live well with my wife - she is a daughter of van Last & Co., brokers in coffee - nobody can say anything about our marriage. I am a member of Artis [149]) and she has a long shawl of ninety two guilder and still there is never been any talk about such a silly love that absolutely likes to live at the end of the world. When we married we have made a trip to the Hague - she has bought flannel there, of which I still wear under shirts - after that, love has never driven us into the world. So it is all madness and lies!"

No, you can't fool Droogstopel, he knows the world. Theatre too means nothing to him.

"Yes, theatre is the ruin of many, more even than novels. It is so visible!. With some tinsel and lace of beaten paper, it all looks so alluring. I mean for children and for people who are not in business. Even when stage people like to picture poverty there performance is always a lie. A girls who's father is bankrupted, works to support the family. Excellent. There she sits sawing, doing needle work or embroidery. But just count the stitches that she makes during the whole act. She talks, she sighs, she walks to the window, but she does not work. The family that can live of this work does not need much. Such a girl of cause is the heroin. She has thrown some seducers of the stairs, she constantly calls: 'oh my mother, oh my mother!' and so depicts virtue. What kind of virtue is it that needs a year to make a pair of stockings?"

"And than the rewarded virtue! Oh, oh, oh! I am since seventeen years broker in coffee - Lauriergracht no. 37 - and so I have seen a thing or two, but I always feel terrible when I see dear truth so distorted. Rewarded virtue? Is it not like making a mercantile product of virtue? It is not like that in the world and it is good that it is not like that in the world. Than were would be the merit if virtue was rewarded? So why always tell this infamous lie? Take for instance our warehouse servant Lukas, who already worked for the father of Last & Co - the firm was than called Last & Meyer, but the Meyers are long since out - that was a

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149) The Amsterdam Zoo

virtues man. No bean was ever short, he always went to church, he did not drink. When my father in law was in Driebergen [150]), he looked after the house, the cash-register and everything. Once he got seventeen guilder to much from the bank and he brought them back. Now he is old and rheumatic and is unable to serve anymore. Now he has nothing, since there is a lot going around at our place and we need young people. Now, according to me this Luckas is very virtues, but is he reworded? Is there a prince that gives him a diamond or a fairy that butters his bread? Absolutely not! He is poor and he stays poor and so it has to be. I can not help it - we need young people while a lot is going a round at our place - but even if I could, what would happen to his virtue when he could live an easy live in his old days? If that were so all warehouse servants would be virtues and everybody, which can not be God's meaning, since then there would be no special reward left in heaven, for the virtues among us. But on stage they twist that, all lies!"

When we hear this tirade, that Multatuli put's in the mouth of this intrepid amsterdam merchant, we have to remember that the dutch belgium war of 1830 broke out as the consequence of a play, that was given in Brussels. This accident didn't really endear this art form to the amsterdam merchants, who suffered some losses when there southern market, Belgium, was suddenly lost. Droogstopel was an honest man, he loved the trues. What exactly he understood under that word is what Multatuli tells his readers in the second chapter.

"It was slow on the exchange, but the spring auction will make good for it. Do not think that nothing is going around at our place. At Busselinck & Waterman it is even slower. A strange world! One sees a thing of two when one visits the exchange for twenty years. Picture your self that they have tried - Busselinck & Waterman I mean - to take Ludwig Stern from me. Since I do not know if you are knowledgable about the exchange, I like to point out that Stern is one of the first coffee houses in Hamburg, that is always been served by Last & Co. I accidently found out about it, I mean the swindle of Busselinck & Waterman. They were willing to drop a quarter of the brokerage - undercutters they are and nothing else! - and see what I have done to neutralize this blow. An other would in my place probably have written to Ludwig Stern that he too would drop some and that he hoped for consideration for the long term services of Last & Co. - I have calculated that the firm, in more than fifty years, has earned more than four hundred thousand on Stern. The relation dates back to the days of the continental system [151]), when we smuggled in colonial products through Helgoland. Yes who knows what an other would have written. But no, I do not go on my belly. I have gone to Polen [152]) and had them give me pen and paper and wrote:

That the large expansion, that our business had taken lately, especially through the many honoured orders from Northern Germany - it's the honest trues - made an enlargement of our personal necessary. It's the trues! Even yesterday our bookkeeper was after eleven at the office to find his glasses. That we especially felt the need for a decent, well raised boy, for our correspondence in german. That there were many german boys in Amsterdam that had the needed qualifications, but that a house with self respect - it's the honest trues! - which the ever growing frivolity and immorality among the youth, by the daily growing number of fortune hunters and with an eye for the necessity of solidity of conduct, to go hand in hand with the solidity in the execution of the given orders - it's true, it's all the honest trues! -

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150) This is a place near Utrecht were the well to do of those days had large mansions and spend there summers in luxurious land living.

151) The Napoleonic blocked of England

152) A coffee house in Amsterdam

that such a house - I mean Last & Co., brokers in coffee, Lauriergracht No.37 - can not be careful enough with the engagement of young man. This is all the honest trues reader! Do you know, that the young german, who at the exchange stood at pillar 17, is run of with the daughter of Busselinck & Waterman? Our Marie is also getting thirteen in September. - that I had the honour to learn from Mr. Saffeler - Saffeler travels for Stern - that the honoured patron of the firm - mister Ludwig Stern, had a son, mister Ernest Stern, who to enlarge his mercantile knowledge, wished to work in a dutch house. That, with the few on this - Here I again repeated all the immorality and told the story of the daughter of Busselink & Waterman. Not to blacken anybody, no to besmirch is absolutely not my way! But - it never can harm that they know I think. - that in few of this, I saw nothing more gladly than Mr. Ernst Stern in charge of the german correspondence of our house. Out of good tasted I refrained from any remark about a salary, but I added: That, if Mr. Ernest Stern the stay at our house - Lauriergracht no. 37 - would accept, my wife had declared her self ready to care for him like a mother and that his linen would be repaired in our house. That is the clear trues than Marie darns and mends real sweet. And finally: That we serve the Lord. That is something he can put in his pocket be cause the Sterns are Luteranians. And I send of my letter. You will understand that the old Stern can not go over to Busselinck & Waterman if the young is working in our office."

In this book Droogstopel depicted the dry, greedy and calvinistic mind of the amsterdam merchants. The young german, that Multatuli now introduces, serves with his romantic and idolizing nature to make that extra clear. Besides he needed him to keep on going with his book. Droogstoppel, who wanted, more or less illegally, to change the manuscript that he had obtained, just was to dry to do the job. A more romantic nature was needed to give some colour to the story.

"Before I continue I have to say that young Stern has come. It is a nice boy. He seems to be quick and able, but I believe that he idolizes. Marie is thirteen years of age. His outfit is very neat. I have put him on the copy book, so he can practise the dutch style. I am curious if there soon will be orders from Ludwig Stern. Marie will embroider a pair of slippers for him - for the young Stern I mean."

Now Droogstoppel concludes that the manuscript, in the form in which it is, is no good, but that enough parts of it are important enough to justify a reworking by young Stern. He him self will every now and than write an extra chapter for it, to make sure that it stays a solid book. However, he is not completely sure if this is the right way to do it.

"It only appeared that Stern, who has a touch of literature about him - like many germans - wanted to have a say in the way it was executed. I did not like this to well, but since the spring auction was coming and I still have no orders from Ludwig Stern, I did not want to contradict him to much. He said: 'if my breast is glowing with feeling for the true and beautiful, there is no power in the world that can stop me to strick the cord that is in balance with such a feeling and that he preferred to be silent, than to see his words caught in the dishonouring prison of dayliness' - I found this rather strange of Stern, but my trade comes before everything and his old man is a good house."

And so bourgeoisie and romantic come together in Amsterdam to write a book. Now of course Schliemann was no young Stern and his employers no real Droogstoppels, but in his case too the romantic influences of his early years will have merged with the money earning no nonsense mentality of the amsterdam bourgoesie and in the end this fusion too gave us (part of) a book, Schliemann's official autobiography.

A tale of hard times

"... durung the 4 years in Amsterdam I have worked with an iron energie, not with standing the need in which I found my self. Of the 400 guilders income, that I had in the first two years, I spend half on language lessons and of the other half I lived like a dog." [153])

With these lines Schliemann told Count Bassi about his early years in Amsterdam. In his official autobiography he even goes further and gives his readers some inside in his troubled existence.

"My annual salary amounted only to 800 francs (£32), half of which I spend upon my studies; on the other half I lived - miserably enough, to be sure. My lodging, which cost 8 francs a month, was a wretched garret without a fire, where I shivered with cold in winter and was scorched with the heat in summer. My breakfast consisted of rye-meal porridge, and my dinner never cost more than two-pence." [154])

Now we go back to his american autobiography and, remarkably enough, not a word about this poverty. In the letter to his sisters however, that was written on February 20 and so only tells us something about the first 1,5 month, we refined traces of poverty.

"I especially enjoy the friendship of my patron W. Hepner, the partner in the house of L. Hoyack & Co., than he over loads me with his favours. He gave me a nice warm winter coat and he also allows me to eat at his place twice a week, the other days I am satisfied to take cold food." [155])

"Life is extreemly expencive here and it cost a lot of mony how ever economical one lives. For a small, furnished room, without a stove, on the fifth floor, I have to pay 8 guilder a month. I have rented a smal iron stove from the ironmonger and I had to pay 5 guilder for the winter for it." [156])

That Schliemann talked about his poverty in his official autobiography is easily to understand. He wanted to show his readers that he had worked him self up. That Schliemann too gives some signs of financial worries in the letter to his sisters is harder to explain. He just had obtained 240 guilder from his friend Wendt and he told his sisters that he was sure that he could work for Hoyack & Co. So he had a salary and a nice nest egg, so what worry could he have. Or maybe he had no salary?

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153) Meyer Briefwechsel I p. 113

154) Ilios p. 9

155) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 30

156) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 31

"... my patrons said for some days that I further on could stay with them. They would pay me according to the work I did." 157)

So how do we have to read this line. Did he get paid or was he sure that he somewhere in the future would get paid. As we have seen the firm was, at that moment, closed for the winter, so what kind of work could Schliemann do at that moment. I wonder if he really had a job or that he only was boasting to his sisters and in reality was waiting for Hepner to find him a job. Why else would Hepner have given the young man a coat and allowed him to eat twice a week at his place? Could it be that Schliemann only had his Hamburg gift and wondered how long he would be able to live on it? On the other hand Schliemann surely didn't live as cheap as one would expect from someone who was very poor. He had an eight guilder room, but not in the poor district.

"... rented my self a room on the Nieuwezijds-Voorburgwall Nr. 60, 5 stairs high, ..." 158)

Cornelis Springer. Nieuwezijds-Voorburgwal. The house in which Schliemann lived was the first house on the right off this picture.

The Nieuwezijds-Voorburgwall was in those days a normal middle class road along a canal. Certainly not the place to live for a poor man.

Now let's try to figure out how poor Schliemann really was. For a man who later made his fortune in business Schliemann's remarks about money, in his autobiographical writings, are rather loos and hard to compare. In the letter to his sisters he tells them that his room cost him 8 guilder a month, in his official autobiography this has become 8 frank. Was the value of a frank the same as a guilder? To count Bassie he tells that he earned 400 guilder in

157) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 29

158) Meyer Briefwechsel I. p. 29

the first 2 years, that would be 200 guilder a year. In his official autobiography he tells his readers that his income in the first years was 800 francs annual. So the value of the frank is not identical to that of the guilder. The problem here is that we don't know if these amounts really are the same. It is possible that Schliemann, in later life did not realize that there was a value difference between guilders and franks and swopped the names of the coins without realizing what this actually meant. This is strange for a business men, but it is possible, so let's, for the time being concentrate our self to one source. In his official autobiography he gives two amounts in guilders with there contra value in pounds. First the Hamburg gift, 240 florins [guilders] is 20 pounds. Secondly his annual salary of 800 francs is 32 pounds. So 1 pound is 12 guilders and 1 pound is 25 frank. So 1 guilder relates to 1 frank as 12 to 25, so roughly the frank is half a guilder. Luckily we have a possibility to see if this is right. In those days the value of the different coins was defined by the gold standard. The different countries had by law tied the values of there coins to a fixed amount of gold. Sinse the amount of gold, that one could get for a certain coin, was fixed, they had a more or less steady value compared to each other. Based on this we can make the following rough list:

1 Ruble = 1,30 guilder
1 Pound = 12,24 guilder
1 Frank = 0,50 guilder
1 Mark = 0,60 guilder [159])

So now we find that Schliemann told Count Bassi that he had a yearly income of 200 guilder, while he told the readers of this official autobiography that his yearly income was 800 frank or 400 guilder.
Now let's look a few years further.

"... on the 1st of March, 1844 [I had] the good fortune to obtain a situation as correspondent and book-keeper in the office of Messrs. B.H. Schröder & Co. of Amsterdam, who engaged me at a salary of 1200 francs (£48);" [160])

So by changing jobs Schliemann made a financial promotion. Now his yearly income was, roughly speaking, 600 guilder. If the figure he gave to count Bassi is right, he went from 200 to 600 guilder or a raise of 300%, if the figure in his official autobiography is right he went from 400 to 600 guilder or a raise of 150 %. This would give me an indication that Schliemann's first income was 400 guilder a year.
Maybe there is a further indication for this amount. Let's first give him the benefit of the doubt. Let's say that he really only earned 200 a year and that he was right when he claimed that he spend half of it on his education. In that case he would have been left with 100 guilder to spend on him self. Now we run into the next problem. Did he spend 8 guilder or 8 frank a month for his room. Since the amount of 8 guilder is mentioned in the letter to his sisters, that he wrote when he lived in Amsterdam, I think that we should go for 8 guilder. In that case he had to pay f. 96,- annual, which would leave him only 4 guilder to live on for a year. It's clear that this is impossible, however if it were franks it would be 48 guilder. Luckily we have some more data to go by. There exists a note book of Schliemann from 1844-1845

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159) This list is based on a list in Meyers Große Konversations-Lexikon 1909
It's clear that Schliemann's pound notations were more or less. According to this list 800 Frank is 400 guilder. Now Schliemann tells us that f240 = £20 or 1£ = f12 and f400 = £32 or 1£ = f12,50. I feel this is highly remarkable for a business man.

160) Ilios p. 10

which can give us some inside in Schliemann's spending patron with his landlord. [161]) The notes in this book start at March 3, 1844 and give a daily record until December 29, with a hole between June 20 and July 13. At the beginning of 1845 Schliemann seems to have been sick. From this moment on he makes only weekly entries. His handwriting gets worse and worse and only becomes steady again at the entry of February 23. The last dated entry is from March 16 after which we find one more list so we can take it that the notebook was ended some were around March 23. For the first week we get the following entries:

"March	3	Buns	f. 0,075
		Butter	f. 0,22
	4	Buns	f. 0,05
	5	Buns	f. 0,05
	6	Buns	f. 0,05
		Eggs	f. 0,15
	7	Buns	f. 0,05
	8	Buns	f. 0,05
	9	Buns	f. 0,05
		Eggs	f. 0,10
		Schoepolishing	f. 0,10
paid			f. 0,99"

This spending pattern stayed more or less the same till June 20. It's clear that Schliemann only took his breakfast at his room. Since this clearly is not enough to live on and since there is nothing to drink on it, we must take it that he had the rest of his foot out doors and marked only those items that he obtained through his land lord. Since March 9 was a Saturday it's clear that he only paid his landlord once a week and on that day prepared him self for Sunday by having his shoes cleaned. All in all we get the picture that his home live was very uneventfull. Remarkable is that Schliemann made a counting mistake of half a cent. Mistakes like this happened 15 times in this note book. After a 22 day hole Schliemann's spending pattern changed (dramatically) and slowly kept on rising.

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161) Gennadius Library. On the inside of the cover is written: De Heer Sliemann. Under this and clearly written with a different pen is written in russian: Heinrich Schliemann Amsterdam 28 October 1844.
In Ludwig, p.65. we also find a list of expenses.
"... a bill of his landlady for small expenses of the 23 year old book keeper reads:

May 11, 1845:	2 buns	f. 0,10
	1 bread	f. 0,20
	2 little jenever	f. 0,13
	0,5 a jug of jenever	f. 0,32
May 12	2,5 ounce of butter	f. 0,25
	5 rolls	f. 0,22
	0,5 ounce of thee	f. 0,20
	5 ounce sugar	f. 0,35
makes in the week the sum of		f. 3,75"

Unfortunately Ludwig gives no sources and I 've not been able to find this list. It's however clear that it doesn't say anything about Schliemann's poverty in his early Amsterdam days. It's dated May 1845 and Schliemann started working for B.H. Schröder in March 1845. I don't understand why Ludwig states "makes in the week the sum of" since there are only two days on it. We can even wonder if May 11 was an average day since Schliemann ordered so much jenever. It could be an indication that he had company in his room. The purchase of a jug of jenever could indicate that he had company that night.

"July	13	Bun	f. 0,025
	14	Buns	f. 0,075
		Candels	f. 0,60
		Cherrys	f. 0,10
	15	Buns	f. 0,10
	16	Buns	f. 0,075
	17	Buns	f. 0,075
	18	Buns	f. 0.075
		Jenever	f. 0,20
		Butter	f. 0,10
	19	Buns	f. 0,075
		Butter	f. 0,225
		Schoepolishing	f. 0,10
	20	Buns	f. 0,075
			f. 1,90
		Milk	f. 0,07
paid			f. 1,97"

From this moment on we weekly, besides his breakfast, also find jenever and fruit. It's clear that Schliemann takes a little more luxuries in his room. We also find posts for household goods like candles, needles and thread and things like that. It's clear that these figures are highly inclompleet. Schliemann must have spend more than the amounts that are on these lists. We for instance find no costs for his room. With this limitation however we can say something about the question of Schliemann's yearly income. If we add all the amounts for 1844, that are mentioned in this note book, we come to a total of f. 65,16. Now if we add to this amount, the probably wrong estimate, of f.48, - we see that he at least spend f112,16 in that year which would have been impossible if he had only f100,- to spend. So we have a good indication that his income was not 200, but 400 guilder annually. In this case he would have had 200 guilder to spend and his rent would have been 96 guilder. In this way the total would be f 161,16 and he would have been left with f. 38,84. This could be possible, even if the left over amount is pretty low for the rest of the food that he will have needed. Now we take a new look at Schliemanns little note book and find that he spend f. 11,195 on non food items. Since Schliemann told his readers that he spend half of his yearly income on his education, it's interesting to see that of these only f. 2,11 was spend on book related expenses. However there are no expenses noted for lessons or books. These expenses are only book related, like binding etc. and show that he must have had books, but not what these books had cost him. However the fact that he used money for "the sewing of 3 books f. 0,40" does not give the impressing that he lived on an absolute minimum. Al these figures are, as steated before, highly incompleet and so we can't say anything absolute on there basis, but I feel confident that Schliemann, in his early years, had a yearly income of 400 guilder.

Up till now I've left his american autobiography out of the discussion. It again gives us other amounts, but in the end it seems to take an in between position in the above discussion.

"In the beginning of my stay in Amsterdam I had very hard times, my emoluments being only fl. 300 (155 SR) per annum, from which I had to pay my board and lodgings as well as my clothes and lessons, and so it happened that during the first year I hardly ever got anything but dry black bread and water. During the first year I occupied a small furnished room, for which I paid fl.4 (2,5 SR) per month, but afterwards when my salary increased I took a fine furnished room at fl.10 (5,5 SR) per month, but I continued to observe the utmost economy

and throughout the whole time of my residence in Amsterdam I never spent more than 20 cents (10 copeques silver) for my dinner. All my savings I sent to my poor family in Germany, whom I have sustained ever since the end of 1842." [162])

Now the next question is how poor or rich someone with a yearly income of 300 or 400 guilder was. Were was his position on the social ladder. Since this is not an economical study I just picked up some figures to give an overall impression.

In 1848 a town-clerk in the province earned f.450,--, a policeman in the same town earned f272,--. [163]). In 1874 the yearly income of a postal official was, in relation to his position, between f100,-- and f550,-- annual. [164]) In 1851 the annual income of a school teacher in a village was f200,--, in a city f220,-- [165]). For labourers it's harder to give a yearly income. They only were paid when they worked and so lost at leat two month in winter. A painter got f0,40 for 12 to 14 hour day. So that would make something between the f90,-- to f110,-- a year. A land labourer got f0,30 for a 14 hour day, which would give him something of an annual income of f70,-- or f80,--. A factory worker got f3,50 a week, which, if he was in luck and could work the whole year, gave him f182,-- annual. [166])

Now these figures are absolutely arbitrary and so we can not use them for any absolute conclusion, but they give us some indication. Again we take Schliemann at his word and set a side half of his income for educational purposes. So he had 200 guilder a year to spend. The average dutch family in those days had around 8 children and so a painter with a family, who earned more or less the same amount, was supposed to live on f20,-- per person per year, but Schliemann was on his own and could spend the total 200 guilder on him self. Seen in this light and knowing that Schliemann also had a little nest egg from Hamburg, we can say that his poverty wasn't really as bad as he wanted us to believe and, compared to the shoe-polishers, that, according to his own story, saw a concurrent in him, he must have been pretty well of. There is even a tantalizing piece of independent information. On October 28, 1843 consul Quack wrote out a pass for Schliemann, on which he could travel to Hamburg and further. [167]) Unfortunately it's unknown if Schliemann made this trip or not, but it gives us an indication that he at least thought that he had the money to do it.

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162) Webber p. 11. Ludwig seems to have believed Schliemann when he tooled his readers that he, of 1842, send money to his father. p. 64. "He lived spartan and send his savings home; ...". I have been unable to find confirmation for this. According to Meyer K&F. p. 48 Schliemann first started sending money and gifts to his father in 1850.

163) Kikkert, J.G.; Hoe ver we zullen komen, weet ik niet. Het avontuurlijke leven van Alexandrine Tine. Bussum 1980

164) Dieperink, A.; Van Bodendiensten tot PTT, Grepen uit de geschiedenis van Lochem. Lochem 1982

165) Prop, G.; De historie van een kleine landstad, Lochem. Lochem 1958

166) Brugmans, I.J.; De arbeidende klasse in Nederland in de 19e eeuw (1813-1870). Utrecht-Antwerpen 1958

167) Gennadius Library. As birth place this pas gives Ankershagen, his age is noted as 20 years and so according to this document Schliemann was born in 1823. Why Schliemann or Quack changed his birth place and year is unknown.

Doing the impossible

"It is real old Icelandic, he growled mumbling. And Professor Lindenbrock should know since he was held for one of the most important connoisseurs of languages. It is true that he did not speak all 2000 languages and 4000 dialects fluently, that are spoken on this earth, but he knew quite a lot about them." [168])

If there is one scholarly pursuit that characterises the nineteenth century, than it's the study of languages. Classical philology was the top of all knowledge, at least that was the meaning of the classical philologist. The study of living languages, however, also became, with the growing possibilities of trade and travel, more and more of importance. We have already seen that Schliemann on his "realschule" had to learn french and english. We have however to realize that large parts of the population, in those days, still had no or very little education. And so while the top of society, who had the time and money, kept them self occupied with the study of the classics, it was the middle class who studied living languages to get up in the world. So when Schliemann tried to convince his readers that he was a poor boy, who had made his way to the top all by him self, he had one powerful argument, his language studies. It 's doubtlessly true that he had a knack for learning languages and that he, in the course of his live, mastered a number of them and got to the basics of a number of others, but we can wonder if it really happened in the way that he told his readers.

"First of all I took pains to learn to write legibly, and this I succeeded in doing after twenty lessons from the famous calligraphist Magnée, of Brussels." [169])

It might be that Magnée was a famous calligraphist in those days, but it seems that this fame has faded after his death. I was unable to find anything about him and so I don't know what his lessons were all about. It is however to be doubted that Schliemann really took lessens in the art of beautiful writing. He had a clear hand, but nothing compared to that of the professional city clerks or those that were occupied in copying legal documents. There also is to find no change in his hand between the letter to his sisters and letters that he wrote a couple of years latter. Still it's highly possible that Schliemann first took some lessons in writing. At his "realschule" he certainly was trained in the german gothic alphabet and that was not used in the rest of europe. For his lessons in french and english he possibly had learned the western european alphabet, but he probably had some trouble writing it when he came to Amsterdam. As to be able to make it in this city, his first priority will have be to get complete control over this, for him, alien alphabet. Even if his job had been nothing more than writing the german correspondence for a merchant house, it still would have been rather troublesome if he could not read the "dutch" alphabet fluently.

"Afterwards, in order to improve my position, I applied myself to the study of modern languages. ... I applied myself with extraordinary diligence to the study of English. ... I

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168) Verne, Jules; Voyage au centre de la terre. 1864

169) Ilios p. 9

succeeded in acquiring in half a year a thorough knowledge of the English language. I than applied the same method to the study of French, the difficulties of which I overcame likewise in another six month. ... This unremitting study had in the course of a single year strengthened my memory to such a degree, that the study of Dutch, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese appeared very easy, and it did not take me more than six weeks to write and speak each of these languages fluently." [170])

When we read this list we should realize that Schliemann's official biography originally was written for an english speaking audience and so we don't have to wonder that, while working in Holland, the first language that he learned was english. If we look in the American autobiography we see that the story was even more wonderful.

"I then took lessons in the German language, which I learnt to speak and write correctly, learnt then the Dutch language, afterwards the French, English, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese languages." [171])

So the poor guy first had to learn his own language. I don't have to dirty up to much words on this bit of fancyfull reporting and only am glad that his old teachers never had to read this american autobiography. It's clear that Schliemann had learned high german at school, but, on entering Holland, he probably will have been glad that he also spook the northern dialect. The Mecklenburger dialect belongs to the lower saxon language group to which also the eastern dutch dialects belongs. The western dutch dialects, however, belong to the lower francon language group. There is a clear relationship between these two groups, but there are also big differences between them. However, when a conversation is kept easy, it's not to hard for the two groups to understand each other. Even to day, for those dutchman, that speak any of the dutch dialects, it's often easier to understand the northern german dialects, than high german. So when Schliemann arrived in Holland he certainly won't have had to much trouble in getting what ever he wanted, but he probably will have found it frustratingly hard to go further, since there are a good number of words in dutch and german which look alike but have a different meaning. [172]) When he had reached Amsterdam his major language problems will have been over. Even in it's decline Amsterdam was an international port with lots of trade lines going into the german hinterland and so it had by tradition a good number of german inhabitants. This already is shown by the fact that the dutch consul for Mecklenburg, mister Quack, lived in this city, as did the consul for Prussia, F.W. Hepner. German was a widely spoken language in this city, which is also shown by the fact that on December 11, 1845, Schliemann wrote to his landlord in German. [173]). So what his native language concerns Schliemann had nothing extra to offer his new patrons as had a good number of other young german boys. To enlarge his value he had to do something, that the many of the others had not done. So what better way was there for him to show him self a bight lad than to learn the dutch language. It's with this extra knowledge that he, according to

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170) Ilios pp. 9-10

171) Webber p. 10

172) To give an example: the Sea, in german "das Meer", in dutch "de Zee"; the lake, in german "der See", in dutch "het Meer". This could make for a nice misunderstanding when speaking about a shipwreck.

173) Gennadius Library 16
"Herrn Werner Alhier [the last word is dutch]. Ich Behändige Ihnen beigehent noch Miethe ..." [Mr. Werner in this city. I here with give you still rent ...]

the letter to his sisters, impresses the gentleman at Hoyack & Co.

"... that they could be sure, that I should give my self with the greatest care and diligence to there business, and since I was experienced in singular and double book keeping and the correspondence in 4 [174]) living languages and would also soon learn the fifths, namely the Dutch, I believed that I could hope to be able to fulfill there expectations." [175])

That Schliemann meant what he said about the dutch language is to be seen in this letter. A number of times he showed his sisters that he already had picked up something of this language. In the anecdote of the shoe cleaners he quotes them in broken dutch; "Mijn heer schoe maken?" Inbetween hooks he gives to his sisters the dutch words for hospital; Gasthuis or Siekenhuis [Ziekenhuis]. He even copyed an ad for them out of an Amsterdam paper. [176]) We can be certain that Schliemann's sisters did not speak or read dutch and so all dutch in this later can only be explained as a show off. Schliemann wanted his sisters to see how cleaver he was and he did this, among others, by showing that he had already learned enough dutch to read a newspaper. That Schliemann already in this face of his life liked to show of with his knowledge of languages is absolutely clear from the letter to his sisters.

"The landlord came to me and I asked him, in english, were I was ... I was in luck since he spoke this language." [177])

There Schliemann surely must have been in luck. The chances that the man would have understood his Mecklenburger dialect will have been higher than the changes that this landlord, who actually was a rent farmer, spoke english. Only a very small percentage of the inhabitants of Texel had any form of education in those days and foreign languages will certainly not have been the strong points of the farmers. If this man really spoke any english at all it must have been the kind of pygmy english that the fisherman of the dutch coast picked up during there contacts with english fisherman. Since Schliemann first had learned english at his "realschule" and later had done an extra course in Rostock his english was probably a lot better than the kind the farmer might have spoken. It's clear that Schliemann here is not really speaking of the way in which he communicated with the locals, but shows of his knowlidge of a foreign language to his sisters. A little further in the letter Schliemann uses the same trick.

"Mr. Ramm, an educated man, spook a very good french, and so I easily could get ready with him." [178])

That Mr. Ran, that, as we know, was his real name, spoke french is possible. He must have had some education to do his job and probably spoke a lot of foreigners during his working

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174) With the fourth living language Schliemann probably meant Spanish.

175) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 29

176) This add is not published in Meyer. I thank dr. Bölke that he showed me this part of the letter to the sisters. The add was originally published in the "Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant. Algemeen Handelsblad No. 3204" Saturday February 12, 1842. It's clear by the mistakes that Schliemann made, in this copy, that he was still a novice in this language.

177) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 24

178) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 26

days. However since he, according to the letter of Mr. Wendt, was the Texel shipping agent for Mr. Krogmann, it's just as, or probably even better, understandable that he spoke german. French was, in those days, a little more than a foreign language, it was the language of all that were something. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century it had been the language of the nobility, who liked to show there culture and so the up coming bourgeois too liked to show there being something by using this language. It's highly possible that Schliemann too used it in this way, cause otherwise I can't explain the next example.

"He gave me paper and a pen, and I wrote a letter in french to the Consul of Mecklenburg." [179])

Why would a Mecklenburger write a letter to the consul of his country in a foreign language. If there was one of who we might expect at least a basic understanding of german than surely the consul of one of the german states. It's however quite good possible that Schliemann wrote this letter in french. The already mentioned letter, to this consul, that we still have, is in this language. It is however clear, that if Schliemann wrote to him in french, than this was not done out of necessity, but to show his knowledge of this language, to show that he was more than just an other poor german boy. And so, even if it's impossible to say how good Schliemann, spoke english and french, it's clear that he knew something of it and was proud of it. He certainly did not start the study of these languages blank, as he liked the readers of his official autobiography to believe. According to the letter to his sisters he even had already started on his third foreign language before he reached the dutch coast.

"I sat the whole day in the corner of the cabin, were I had tied up a chair for my self, and learned spanish letters" [180])

He wanted a job in a south amerikan mercantile house and so he was prepairing him self. He knew what he wanted and was ready to work for it. And so this too gives me the feeling that dutch was the first language he learned after ariving in Amsterdam. How long it took him is unknown, but that he mastered it is, even with the few letters of him, in this language, that I've seen, clear. On October 23, 1845 he wrote in this language to the firm of Jacob van Lennep & Co. in Smyrna [181]). This letter only shows small mistakes. On March 27, 1875, so thirty years later, he wrote a letter in this language to P.M. Keller van Hoorn [182]). This letter also only shows a few mistakes. In both cases the mistakes are grammatical errors, that we also find in the other languages that Schliemann wrote and who probably are the result of the way in which he learned his languages. Here he seems to have developed his own technique.

"Necessity taught me a method which greatly facilitates the study of a language. This method consists in reading a great deal aloud, without making a translation, taking a lesson every day, constantly writing essays upon subjects of interest, correcting these under the supervision of a teacher, learning them by heart, and repeating in the next lesson what was corrected on the previous day. My memory was bad, since from my childhood it had not been

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179) Meyer Briefwechsel I. p. 27

180) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 21

181) Gennadius Library 11

182) Meyer Briefwechsel I. pp. 280-281

exercised upon any object; but I made use of every moment, and even stole time for study. In order to acquire a good pronanciation quickly, I went twice every Sunday to the English chirch, and repeated to myself in a low voice every word of the clergyman's sermon. I never went on my errands, even in the rain, without having my book in my hand and learning something by heart; and I never waited at the post-office without reading. By such methods I gradually strengthened my memory, and in three month' time found no difficulty in reciting from memory to my teacher, Mr. Taylor, in each day's lesson, word by word, twenty printed pages, after having read them over three times attentively. In this way I committed to memory the whole of Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield and Sir Walter Scott's Ivanhoe. From over-excitement I slept but little, and employed my sleepless hours at night in going over in my mind what I had read on the preceding evening. The memory being always much more concentrated at night than in the day-time, I found these repetitions at night of paramount use. Thus I succeeded in acquiring in half a year a thorough knowledge of the English language." [183])

I don't know if this really is a good way to learn a language. Schliemann doesn't tell us what his teacher was for. Was he only there to correct his essays and lissen to his recitations or did he help Schliemann with his grammer. From the modern language courses, were one only has to repeat what is said on a tape, we know that you can learn the basics, but that the leake of grammar makes sure that one never speaks more than a broken version of a language. When I see the english that he used in his travel journal of 1846 I'm sure that he at least had a reasanable understanding of the grammar and must have studied this language in more detail than it seems from this quotation.
What conserns his memory, it's clear from the letter to his sisters that he had trouble remembering names correctly. However the later use of the same names does not give the impression that his memory had realy become mutch better.
As stated before, it's clear that Schliemann learned a number of languages in his life, but if he really did it only by memorising or that he also used more conventional ways of training is unclear to me. [184])

During this language study Schliemann came (for the first time ?) into contact with english and french literature.

Goldsmith's; Vicar of Wakefield. Oliver Goldsmith (1730? - 1774) wrote this novel as a satirist. It's the story of a somewhat hypocritical Vicar who first loses his fortune and during the rest of the story more or less everything there is to loose. In the last chapter however everything is restored to him with interest and so we can see that virtue is always rewarded. In the context of this story Goldsmith commended on things as keeping up appearances after loss of fortune, fortune hunting in marriage, free thinking in religion and compromising with evil. It's clearly a humoristic book, but since the Schliemann, that we know from his writings, was a somewhat pompous and dry man, we can wonder what he made of it. Especially since his father too was a somewhat hypocritical vicar we can wonder what

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183) Ilios pp. 9-10

184) In Meyer K&F we find a compleat chapter on Schliemann's language studies. We should however be a little careful with what Meyer tells us. p. 85. [1851/52] "With chinese he too learned in the praxis of daily association so well that he could reasonably well speak with them in there own language." p. 91 [1865] "... in Kanton he ascertained, early April 1865, to his sorrow: 'they only speak chinese here; my guide only speaks a few words of english, but it is extremely difficult to make him understand me."

for instance the following lines meant to him.

"Matrimony was always one of my favourite topics, and I wrote several sermons to prove its happiness: but there was a peculiar tenet which I made a point of supporting; for I maintained with Whiston [185]), that it was unlawful for a priest of the church of England, after the death of his wife, to take a second, or to express it in one word, I valued myself upon being a strict monogamist."

There is one piece in this book that directly relates to Schliemann's language studies in Amsterdam.

"Take my advice. My ship sails to-morrow for Amsterdam; What if you go in her as a passenger? The moment you land all you have to do is to teach the Dutchmen English, and I'll warrant you'll get pupils and money enough. I suppose you understand English, added he, by this time, or the deuce is in it. I confidently assured him of that; but expressed a doubt whether the Dutch would be willing to learn English. He affirmed with an oath that they were fond of it to distraction; and upon that affirmation I agreed with his proposal, and embarked the next day to teach the Dutch English in Holland. The wind was fair, our voyage short, and after having paid my passage with half my moveables, I found myself, fallen as from the skies, a stranger in one of the principal streets of Amsterdam. In this situation I was unwilling to let any time pass unemployed in teaching. I addressed myself therefore to two or three of those I met, whose appearance seemed most promising; but it was impossible to make ourselves mutually understood. It was not till this very moment I recollected, that in order to teach Dutchmen English, it was necessary that they should first teach me Dutch."

After this failure he goes on to Louvain since he had heard that he could earn a fortune there by teaching greek.

"When I came to Louvain, I was resolved not to go sneaking to the lower professors, but openly tendered my talents to the principal himself. I went, had admittance, and offered him my service as a master of the Greek language, which I had been told was a desideratum in his university. The principal seemed at first to doubt of my abilities; but of these I offered to convince him, by turning a part of any Greek author he should fix upon into Latin. Finding me perfectly earnest in my proposal, he addressed me thus: You see me, young man, continued he, I never learned Greek, and I don't find that I have ever missed it. I have had a doctor's cap and gown without Greek: I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek, and in short, continued he, as I don't know Greek, I do not believe there is any good in it."

These last lines must have sounded like real blasphemy in the ears of young Schliemann. That is, if we can believe his ancounter, in Fürstenberg, with the miller's son who had not forgotten his Homer.

"for on the evening that he entered the shop he recited to us about a hundred lines of the poet [Homer] observing the rhythmic cadence of the verses. Although I did not understand a syllable, the melodious sound of the words made a deep impression upon me, and I wept bitter tears over my unhappy fate. Three times over did I get him to repeat to me those divine verses, rewarding his trouble with three glasses of whiskey, which I bought with the few

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185) William Whiston (1667 - 1752) mathematician, eccentric divine, and proponent of primitive Christianity.

pence that made up my whole fortune. From that moment I never ceased to pray God that by His grace I might yet have the happiness of learning Greek." [186])

Unfortunately Schliemann gave no comment on the books that he read in Amsterdam.

Scott's Ivanhoe. Walter Scott (1771 - 1832) is a clear example of the romantic movement and Ivanhoe is a typical example of the romantic historic novel, in which the feeling of the past is more important, than the real historic event. It's the story of an impossible love that finds an happy end. The romantic nature is clear from the beginning.

"In that pleasant district of merry England which is watered by the river Don, there extended in ancient times a large forest, covering the greater part of the beautiful hills and valleys which lie between Sheffield and the pleasant town of Doncaster. The remains of this extensive wood are still to be seen at the noble seats of Wentworth, of Warncliffe Park, and around Rotherham. Here haunted of yore the fabulous Dragon of Womtley; here were fought many of the most desperate battles during the Civil Wars of the Roses! and here also flourished in ancient times those bands of gallant outlaws, whose deeds have been rendered so popular in English song."

Since Schliemann claims that his live had found its direction through his childhood reading of the tales of Troy, I can't refrain from pointing out that Ivanhoe's first chapter starts of with a small fragment of Pope's Odyssey.

"Thus communed these; while to their lowly dome,
The full-fed swine return'd with evening home;
Compell'd, reluctant, to the several sties,
With din obstuperous, and ungrateful cries,"

I wonder if Schliemann recognised his favourite author in this fragment? I also wonder how someone, who has no knowledge of the english language, could learn it through this book. What would young Schliemann have made of the following, some what Shakespearian, lines?

"I hope, Sir Knight,' said the hermit, 'thou hast given no good reason for thy surname of the Sluggard. I do promise thee I suspect thee grievously. Nevertheless, thou art my guest, and I will not put thy manhood to the proof without thine own free will."

It seems to me that this is not really the kind of english that a nineteenth century business man would use.

During his study of the french language he read:

Fénélon's Aventures de Télémaque. François Fénélon (1651-1715) spend most of his live repressing the Hugenots. He however seems to have been less royalistic than might be suspected from a man with such an ocupation. He wrote "les Aventures de Télémaque" as a critisim on Louis XIV. In 1699 it was published without him knowing it and he immediately got into trouble through it. Only after his death the book was first integrally published in 1717. Not withstanding it's original political meaning, the book became enormously famous and was translated in almost any european language. It tells the story of Odysseus son, who is in surch of his father and during this trip encounters more or less everything his father did.

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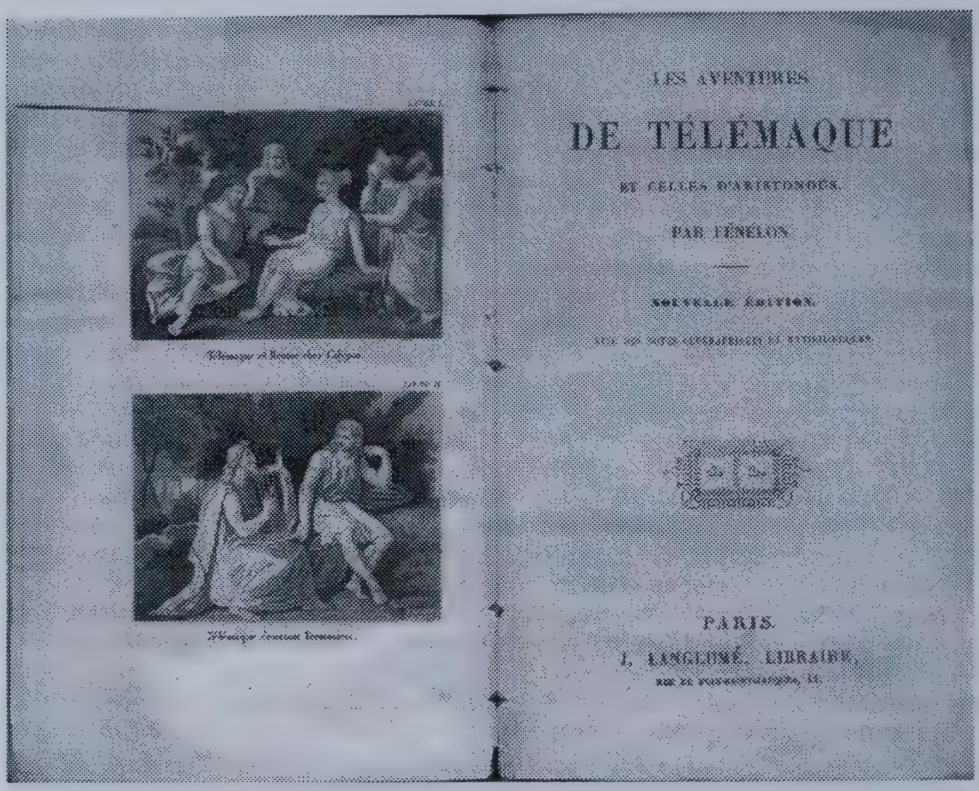
186) Ilios p. 7

The homerian basis of this book imediately becomes clear on page one.



LES AVENTURES

DE TÉLÉMAQUE

ET CELLES D'ARISTONOÜS.

PAR FÉNELON.

NOUVELLE ÉDITION.

PARIS.

L. LANGLUMÉ, LIBRAIRE,

"First Book. summary
Telemachos, guided by Minerva in the person of Mentor, meats, after a shipwreck, the goddess Calypso on here island. She still morns for the departure of Odysseus. The goddess receives him friendly and falls in love with him. She offers him immortality and asks him to tell about his adventures. He tells about his trip to Pylos and Lacedaimon; about his shipwreck for Sicily, about the danger that he had survived during the sacrifice to the shadow of Anchise, about the help that Mentor and he gave to Aceste during an invasion of the barbarians and about the way the king provided for than, as thanks for there services and how he gave them a boot from Tyrus so they could go back to there land."

One does not really have to be to well read in the classics to see the relation with Homer's famous book here. According to his own testimony Schliemann must have had this knowledge.

"... at Christmas 1832, I was able to present my father with a badly-written Latin essay upon the principal evants of the Trojan war and the adventures of Ulysses and Agamemnon." 187)

187) Ilios p. 6 This essay is not with us today and so there is nothing, with certainty, to be said about it, but some doubt that it ever existed.

Schliemann tells us that he also used this book when he studied Russian and so it seems that he at least read it twice. Remarkably enough, for some one that had toled his father, that he later wanted to excavate Troy, and who later used his official autobiography to make sure that the world knew this, there is no remark about the context of this book. It's almost as if Schliemann did not realize, that it was about his childhood hero's. As if he didn't realize that it had a bearing on his future. This of course would be easily to explain when this remark had failed in an early mentioning, but it gets more mysterious now that it is missing in an autobiography in which the author is trying to show, that his whole live has been in the service of the excavation of Troy. Here he could easily have shown how he, even in Amsterdam, had been under the spell of the divine writing of Homer, but he does not do it. It seems that he only remembered, that he used the book to learn french and russian, but that the contents had left no trace in his memory. So it seems, that it had no extra meaning for him when he read it, no dreams of great deeds, that he would do in the future. So no dreams of Troy in Amsterdam.

Bernardin de Saint Pierres's Paul et Virginie. Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint Pierres (1737-1814) was a friend of Jean Jacques Rousseau and that it's something we clearly can see in this novel. It first appeared in 1788 as book IV of "Études de la nature". A year later it was published under it's own name and became one of the international best sellers of it's days. The story is rather simple. Two french ladies meet each other on Mauritania. The one has a daughter, Verginie and the other soon becomes a son, Paul. The two children grow up like brother and sister and play in this story the role of the nobel savages. They are not corrupted by civilisation. The children are destine to get married. Through the manipulations of an ugly old aunt and her money Verginie is brought to France to be properly educated by some nuns and so she gets corrupted by civilisation and loses her innocence. In her fall she takes down Paul, who learns to write just to keep in contact with her. As a result of this he starts reading, and as to be expected, he too loses his innocence. It's all Rousseau from beginning to end, but a lot easier to read. In the end we can clearly see what civilisation does to a woman. Virginie returns to Mauritania. In view of the harbour her ship goes down. It all happens in front of Paul's eyes.

"The sailors all had jumped into the sea and only one had stayed on deck; he was totally naked and had muscles like Hercules. Respectfully he neared Virginia: we saw how he threw him self at her feet and tried to persuade her to also take of her cloth; she however refused with dignity and turned her eyes from him."

And so Virginie drowns while her cloth are to heavy and civilization has made her its victim. Within two month after this tragedy Paul, the rest of the family, the servants and even the dogs die of sorrow. The noble savage is domed, when he gets into contact with civilisation and the european public of those days loved it. I like to give one more quotation and this time Paul favourite book.

"There was no book that gave him more enjoy meant than Télémaque with it's descriptions of rural life and rural people, who were born with a human hart."

There are no references to Homer in this book, but quit a lot to the classics. There is even talk of antique inscriptions of people who have disappeared, but here again Schliemann fails

to make a connection with his own lifes pursuit. [188])

When someone tells you, that he has memorised a book by heart, it's quite logical to believe that this book will have had some influence on his thinking or style of writing. When we look at the letter to his sisters we see that Schliemann was a child of his time. There are clearly romantic or maybe even gothic traces to be found in his description of the shipwreck. Take for instance the ships-bell that rings while the ship sails to it's doom. This letter however was written before Schliemann is supposed to have read any of these book and so he had these romantic influences before he came in contact with the above mentioned books. In his later writings these influences seem to have disappeared. Schliemann's landscape descriptions are very factual and even if he proclaims there beauty, he never shows it in words, and they certainly never have a haunting feeling of there own. I find no influence of Rousseau in Schliemann's archaeological writings. His Trojan heros never get the feel of noble savages and his greek and turkish labourers seem to have had no arcadic tendencies. And most of all, Schliemann the archeologist was looking for a historical past. He was not content with the ancient feel of the story, but thought to prove that it really happened. And so except from teaching him the language, in which they were written, these book seem not to have had any lasting influence on Schliemann.

After March 1844, when he is gone over to the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co, he learned russian. In doing this he excelled him self in all he had done up till that moment.

" as I thought that I could make myself still more useful by a knowledge of Russian, I set to work to learn that language also. But the only Russian books I could procure were an old grammar, a lexicon, and a bad translation of Les Aventures de Télémaque. In spite of all my enquiries, I could not find a teacher of Russian, since, with the exception of the Russian Vice-Consul, Mr. Tannenberg, who would not consent to give me lessons, there was no one in Amsterdam who understood a word of the language. So I betook myself to the study of it without a master, and, with the help of the grammar, I learned the Russian letters and their pronunciation in a few days. Then following my old method, I began to write short stories of my own composition, and to learn them by heart. As I had no one to correct my work, it was, no doubt, extremely bad; but I tried at the same time to correct my mistakes by the practical exercise of learning the Russian Aventures de Télémaque by heart. ... in the course of six weeks I wrote my first Russian letter to Mr. Vasili Plotnikoff, the London agent for the great indigo-dealers, Messrs. M.P.N. Malutin Brothers, at Moscow, and I found myself able to converse fluently with him and the Russian merchants Matweieff and Froloff, when they came to Amsterdam for the indigo auctions." [189])

In his american autobiography the story differs in some details.

"In the third year of my stay in the counting-house of Schröder & Co. I learnt the Russian language, which indeed I found the most difficult tongue of all, the more so as there was in

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188) Witte, Reinhard; Bemerkungswerte Formulierungen in Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierres "Paul et Virginie". Mitteilungen aus dem Heinrich-Schliemann-Museum Ankershagen. Heft 5. 1997 pp.117-128. Witte found a number of parallels between this story and Schliemann's live and wonders if these are accidental or not. At the end he comes to the conclusion that it could have been like this or could not have been like this. Here I'm a little more sceptical.

189) Ilios p. 11

Amsterdam nobody who knew a word of Russian, in consequence of which I had to study it from books. But by reading much aloud I soon accustomed myself to this beautiful language, and after having studied it for 6 weeks I was already enabled to write commercial letters to Russia, which correspondence proved extremely advantageous to my principals ..." [190])

Since according to his american autobiography Schliemann immediately started to work for Schröder & Co, the third year would be 1845.
About one thing the two versions seem to agree absolutely, there was no one in Amsterdam who could speak russian. This seems rather peculiar next to what he had told his sisters in 1842.

"The dutch man is according to his nature lazy and so the foreigners have, by there diligence, a better name. In our office work only foreigners, Germans, Russians, Swedes, Spaniards, etc." [191])

So what had happened to those Russians, had they all gone home? In the next chapter we will see that the firm of Schröder & Co, already for a long time, had access to the russian market through a related firm in Petersburg. And even from Schliemann's story we can see that the russian merchants were in the habit of visiting the Amsterdam Indigo Auctions. And so it seems that there already were contacts between the amsterdam merchants and the russian merchants before Schliemann learned Russian. In fact there were very close relations between Holland and Russia in those days. They had started of under Peter the Great, who had come to Holland to learn the trade of ship builder and who, on his way back, had taken along a large contingent of dutch craftsman, to work for him in St. Petersburg. The contact between Holland and Russia stayed good and in 1816 Wilhem II of Oranje, who in 1840 became king of the Netherlands, married the sister of Czar Alexander I, Anna Paulowna. The ties between the two dynasties were so close that Alexander I was ready to send russian soldiers to support his dutch college, Wilhelm I, in his struggle against the Belgium uprising of 1816. Wilhelm I's campaign was very short and Belgium had won it's independence within nine days and so there was no time for the russian soldiers to reach the Netherlands in time and so this friendship never came to the test. Now Schliemann wants us to believe that in the largest mercantile town, in a country that had such ties with Russia, there was nobody who spoke russian. It's quit good possible that Schliemann was unable to find a teacher, but that there would have been nobody who spoke russian is beyond my believe. Even Schliemann's own paper heritage gives us reason to doubt this. The first russian letter that we find in it is from April 8, 1845.

"Messrs. B.H. Schröder & Co in Amsterdam
Dear Sir
I have received your letter from April 4. I sincerely thank you. I hope I can send you the message in this month. I am afraid that I, thanks to the London auctions, will not be able to be in time for the start of your indigo auctions. So I ask you kindly to buy for my house G.G. and for the brothers Malutin indigo in the amount of 30 cases, I do not mind if these are large or small. .....
W. Plotnikoff" [192])

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190) Webber p. 11

191) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 29

192) Genadius Library 18. I thank Dr. W. Bölke for helping me on to a translation.

It's an absolute normal business letter, that seems to be part of a normal business correspondence. The letter is written in russian and the author seems not to have had any worry that it would not be read. There is not even an indication, that he is glad that he can write in his own language. Judging by this letter I would say that they already had some one at the Schröder office who spoke russian before Schliemann started to learn this language. That Schliemann somewhere in 1845 has learned russian is clear. The first russian letter addressed to the firm of Schröder & Co Amsterdam, Mr. Schliemann, is written by Sergy Givago on September 12 and so it's clear that by the end of this year he was able to read russian. After having learned this language, Schliemann took a brake from studying.

"After I had completed my study of the Russian language, I began to occupy myself seriously with the literatures of the languages I had learned." [193])

Unfortunately Schliemann didn't tell us what all he read, but it can't have been to much. He must have been occupied with his russian up till the middle of 1845. In january 1846 he went to St. Petersburg and so he had no more than half a year to occupy him self with literature. All in all we can say that Schliemann, during his Amsterdam years, spend quit a lot of time on language studies, but we can wonder in how far this widened this cultural horizon.

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193) Ilios p. 11

B.H. Schröder & Co.

Schliemann's first contact with the amsterdam mercantile world was Hoyack & Co. This was a medium size firm, but in Schliemann's eyes it was much more. Through the description, that he gives to his sisters, we get an, slightly distorted, inside view into the workings of an amsterdam firm.

"At 10 o'clock we start at the office, the patrons appear not for 11, one writes until 3 and than one goes to the exchange, which is closed at 4, at 5 we have our afternoon meal, at 5.30 one is again at the office until 8. On wednesday and saturday there is no office in the afternoon; nobody thinks about it on sunday. ... The large office hall, in which besides both patrons, work our 18 office-employees and 3 peoples, is in the evening lighted by 48 gas flames. Our speciality are cereals and banking, but by favourable tendencies of the market we also speculate in colonial goods, especially indigo. As for size non of the amsterdam business houses, and I should say of the world, can compete with us, cause there is not one house that has so many servants and so large a turnover as ours." [194])

The next firm that Schliemann mentioned and were he probably had his first job, is the F.C. Quien

"Mr. W. Hepner, ... procured me a situation in the office of Mr. F. Quien. In my new situation my work consisted in stamping bills of exchange and getting them cashed in town, and carrying letters to and from the post-office." [195])

Frederic Charles Quien was born in 1780 in Amsterdam were his father had some ships and made a fortune in the East Indie trade. In 1798 Frederic Charles started to work for de firm of Schroeder [196]). In 1804 he came in charge of this firm and in 1811 he became the owner. From this moment on the firm is called F.C. Quien. [197])
In 1840 his son Carel Fredric Quien and his brother George Quien started to work in this firm and some years later they became partners. One traded in different goods. In a prospectus of January 5, 1839 we find the following products: Cotton, Indigo, Dyewood, Resin, Metal, Coffee, Sugar, Rice, Spices, Nutmeg, Pepper, Tin, Raisins, Almonds, Figs, Oil, Fish-oil, Ashes, Leader, Skins, Tobacco, Cacao and Seeds. In 1840 they have a capital of 400.000 guilder. In 1853 this has become 800.000 and in 1854 it's already 900.000.

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194) Meyers Briefwechsel I. pp. 30-31

195) Ilios p. 9

196) This Schroeder had as far as I could find out no family ties with the family of B.H. Schröder.

197) Gemeente Archief Amsterdam, Arch 5287, A731

198) It seems that Schliemann's knowledge of this firm was some what limited.

"The commercial house of F.C. Quien still exists at Amsterdam [1879], under the same name. The founder of the house is dead, but his two sons, Charles and George Quien, who were already partners in the house when the author first entered it at the beginning of 1842, are both still alive." 199)

From the above it is clear that F.C. Quien was not the founder of this firm and George Quien was not his son, but his brother. His son Carel (sometimes called Karl) did not become a partner before 1874. After Frederic Charles death in 1859 the firm kept it's name. After the death of son Carel, in 1907, the firm was liquidated. From this it's clear that Schliemann never was high enough in this firm to become acquainted with the real family ties, but as to what his real function might have been, there we have nothing but question marks. In his official autobiography he tells his readers that he was an errand-boy, but that is highly improbable. He just earned to much for such a low job. Besides he was already to old for this kind of work. Errand-boys, in those days, were really boys and there were quite a large number of those that were unemployed hanging around the city, who would gladly do it for the lowest possible amount. It's also highly unlikely that Schliemann was used to collect money for this firm. Why should they entrust there money and more often than not this were large amounts, to an unknown young german man. For such a job they normally used an older employee, who had proven his trust worthiness. It's more probable to expect that Schliemann either worked as a copier or as a correspondent, however, we have no data here and so there is nothing to decide with any certainty. That Schliemann was more than just an errand-boy also becomes clear by the way he obtained his next job.

"... through the intercession of my worthy friends, Louis Stoll 200) of Mannheim and J.H. Ballauf 201) of Bremen, I had on the 1st of March, 1844, the good fortune to obtain a situation as correspondent and book-keeper in the office of Messrs. B.H. Schröder & Co. of Amsterdam, who engaged me at a salary of 1200 francs (£48); but when they saw my zeal, they added a salary of 800 francs a year more by way of encouragement." 202)

Now concerning Schliemann's job by the F.C. Quien we run into two questions. The gentleman Stoll and Ballauf must have been merchants or else they couldn't have been of service to Schliemann. B.H. Schröder must have known that they were able to judge a man for a job in there office. And than these two man must have known Schliemann and must have been convinced that they could recommend him without getting a blot on there own name. Now, how would an errand-boy have come into contact with two german merchants and how would he have been able to convince them that he was good for an office job. In my mind this is only plausible when he already had an office job and they had seen his work. The second question we can ask our self is that of the money. Why would the firm of B.H. Schröder pay a young

198) Notes sur l'Histoir de la Familie Quien

199) Ilios p. 9, note 9.

200) Einsle, Hans/Bölke, Wilfried; Das Heinrich Schliemann Lexikon. Bremen/Rostock 1996. p. 163. "Stoll, Louis Georg Ludwig (1820-1892). Merchant, founder of the firm of Rabus & Stoll of Mannheim, also Bank-director.

201) Abenteuer meines Lebens p. 317. "Ballauf, J.H.: Merchant of Bremen."

202) Ilios p. 10

man, who had no experience what so ever, except as an errand-boy, almost 600 guilder a year, while F.C. Quien had payed him no more than 400. With these 600 guilder Schliemann earned the same or more than the director of the post office were he had brought all those letters. Or why would any firm pay a middle class income for someone who, according to his former employer, was not to be used for anything but bringing letters to the mail? It's clear that Schliemann must have had visible qualities that he does not tell us about. It's highly possible that by this year his language studies started to pay of, but he must have been able to show this talent in some way or else nobody would have noticed it.

B.H. Schröder & Co. of Amsterdam was a much larger firm than Hoyack & Co. or the F.C. Quien. It was part of what we now a days call a multinational. The conglomerate of Schröder firms was in 1730 founded by Anton Schröder in Quackenbrück. [203]) This city was situated on the old Hanse route from Holland to North Germany and Poland. Anton Schröder made good and became an important man in this community. He married the daughter of a wealthy merchant and became the father of 5 sons and 3 daughters. All his sons took the same profession as the father and so the basis for this conglomerate was laid.

- Johan (1726-1789) founded the Johan Schröder & Co in Bremen.
- Bernhard Hinrich (1728-1811) and Anton Engelbert (1734-1797) founded the BH & AE Schröder & Co. in Quackenbrück.
- Christian Matthias (1742-1821) started his mercantile career with his brother in Bremen, but moved in 1762 to Hamburg, were he founded Christian Matthias Schröder & Co. His brother Johan Friedrich became a partner.

Most of there children again became merchants and moved to other cities and so the web of related firms became bigger and wider. As an example I take Christian Matthias. He had six sons.

- Christian Matthias II (1778-1860). He stayed at home and became a partner in Christian Matthias Schröder & Co of Hamburg.
- Anthon Diedrich (1779-1855). He too stayed home and became a partner in Christian Matthias Schröder & Co. of Hamburg.
- Johan Friedrich (1780-1852) founed the J.F. Schröder & Co of London
- Hermann Engelbert (1783-1830) founded the H.E. Schröder & Co. of St. Petersburg
- Johan Heinrich, also known as John Henry, became in 1804 a partner of J.H. Schröder & Co, of London. Founded in 1818 J. Henry Schröder & Co. of London. Founded in 1819 the J.H. Schröder & Co. of Hamburg. Founded in 1839 the J.H Schröder & Co. of Liverpool. In 1826 the Hamburg firm associated it self with the brother of the wife of Hermann Engelbert and changed it's name to Schröder, Mahs & Co. Mahs was born in 1793 in St Petersburg. In 1842 his younger brother, Nikolaus Mahs, became a partner in the J.H. Schröder & Co of Liverpool. [204])
- Georg Wilhelm (1794-1862) founded the G.W. Schröder & Co. of Riga.

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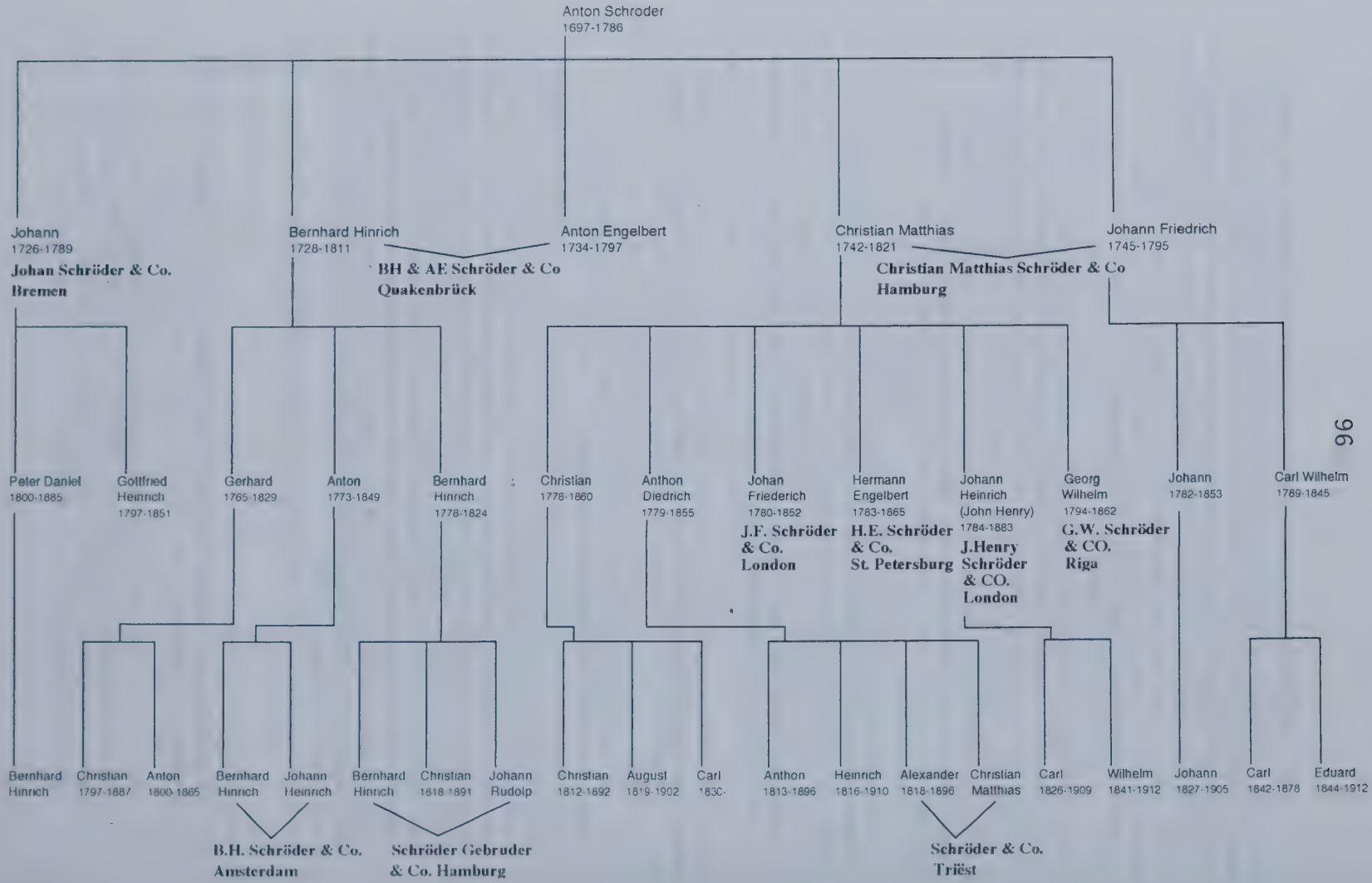
203) All data about the Schröder family are found in: Roberts, Richard; Schroders, Merchants & Bankers. London 1992

204) Ilios p. 10 note 1. "... Mr. B.H. Schröder died in 1849, but Mr. Henry Schröder, the same who personally engaged me on the 1st of March, 1844, and who was then already a partner in the house, is still one of its principals." Here Schliemann is talking about Johann Heinrich who should not be confused with the London J. Henry Schröder


Anton Schroder
1697-1786
Johann
1726-1789
Johan Schröder & Co.
Bremen
Bernhard Hinrich
1728-1811
Anton Engelbert
1734-1797
BH & AE Schröder & Co
Quakenbrück
Christian Matthias
1742-1821
Johann Friedrich
1745-1795
Christian Matthias Schröder & Co
Hamburg
Peter Daniel
1800-1885
Gottfried
Heinrich
1797-1851
Gerhard
1765-1829
Anton
1773-1849
Bernhard
Hinrich
1778-1824
Christian
1778-1860
Anthon
Diedrich
1779-1855
Johan
Friederich
1780-1852
J.F. Schröder
& Co.
London
Hermann
Engelbert
1783-1865
H.E. Schröder
& Co.
St. Petersburg
Johann
Heinrich
(John Henry)
1784-1883
J.Henry
Schröder
& CO.
London
Georg
Wilhelm
1794-1862
G.W. Schröder
& CO.
Riga
Johann
1782-1853
Carl Wilhelm
1789-1845
Bernhard
Hinrich
Christian
1797-1887
Anton
1800-1865
Bernhard
Hinrich
Johann
Heinrich
Bernhard
Hinrich
Christian
1818-1891
Johann
Rudolp
Christian
1812-1892
August
1819-1902
Carl
1830-
Anthon
1813-1896
Heinrich
1816-1910
Alexander
1818-1896
Christian
Matthias
Carl
1826-1909
Wilhelm
1841-1912
Johann
1827-1905
Carl
1842-1878
Eduard
1844-1912
B.H. Schröder & Co.
Amsterdam
Schröder Gebruder
& Co. Hamburg
Schröder & Co.
Triëst

And so we see that St. Petersburg and Russia were no unknown territory for the Schröder family. Hermann Engelbert was a member of the 1 gild of St. Petersburg, he was married to Rosina Mahs and so the Mahs family and the Schröder family became intertwined. In June 1819 John Henry had become a member of the Russia Company in London and so we can see that already long before Schliemann went to St. Petersburg, the Schröder family was active in the russian trade.

For a more complete picture of the family ties, that kept the different Schröder companies together, one can best take a look at there family tree. [205])

In his official autobiography Schliemann tells us nothing about his work by B.H. Schröder & Co. In his american autobiography he tell's us a little more, but this story is highly suspect.

"... Messrs. Hoyack & Co., ... procured me a place as office-boy in the counting-house of Messrs. B.H. Schröder & Co. ... My occupation was to carry the letters to the postoffice, to present bills for acceptance, etc. It happened that in the beginning of 1842 there was in Amsterdam a celebrated caligraph of the name of Magnée from Brussels. Mr. Schröder kindly offered to pay the lessons for me if I wished to learn writing, to which I joyfully consented, and in 20 lessons I advanced so far that I could make myself useful as copy-clerk. ... Mr. Schröder advanced me almost every month in his office, and in less than 2 years I became the first clerk in the house, got 'full power' and had already 15 clerks under me." [206])

As to see what Schliemann's position in the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. was we have to look at his salary. He started of on 1200 frank and soon got 800 frank more. So altogether he had 2000 franks, which would be a 1000 guilder or ca. £ 81. Unfortunately we have no salary figures for this amsterdam firm, but we do have them for the related firm of John Henry in London.

"The annual average earnings of Schröders' clerks at the beginning of the 1850 were: juniors, £73; ledger clerks, £124; and correspondence clerks, £193. This meant that they all had sufficient means to sustain a middle-class style of life which it has been calculated required an income of at least £60 per annum." [207])

Taking it that there wouldn't have been to much difference between London and Amsterdam we can take it that, when Schliemann entered the firm of Schröder & Co, at 1st of March, 1844, [208]) he was placed at the bottom of the second group.

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205) I founded this family tree on: Deutsches Geschlechterbuch Band 23, 1913 and Schröder, Carl August; Heinrich Schliemann und das Handelshaus Schröder. Hamburgische Geschichts- und Heimatblätter, Band 12, Heft 10. 1991

206) Webber pp. 10-11

207) Roberts p. 78

208) There is no outside confirmation for this date and there is room for a question mark. The first letter, in the Schliemann archive with the name of B.H. Schröder on it is dated "Paris July 14, 1843", Gennadius Library 8/86. It's a letter of recommendation form Mr. Jean C. DeBalsac, merchant of long standing in Constantinople. It's unclear to me how this letter came in Schliemann's possession or why he saved it.

B.H. Schröder & Co. Heerengracht 286

There is very little left of Schliemann's early days with Schröder & Co. and so it's hard to say what exactly was his job there. The first letter clearly in his hand is a general message that's dated Amsterdam January 1845.

" M r

Working on the closure of our books, we here with have the honour to send you enclosed an extract of your honourable account of last year, closing with a balance of fl. ---- that you still ow us and that we like to record again at the first. We silently accept that you agree when you do not state differently before the end of this month.

With the newly started year we send you our sincere wishes for happiness and we hope that your estimated friendship will continue and that there will be the opportunity to keep our correspondence a life

We recommend our self to you in connection with enclosed message

Yours faithfully" [209])

Date, name and amount are left open in this letter and could clearly be fild out for who ever the letter was mentioned. In total there are still six copies left and so we can take it that a

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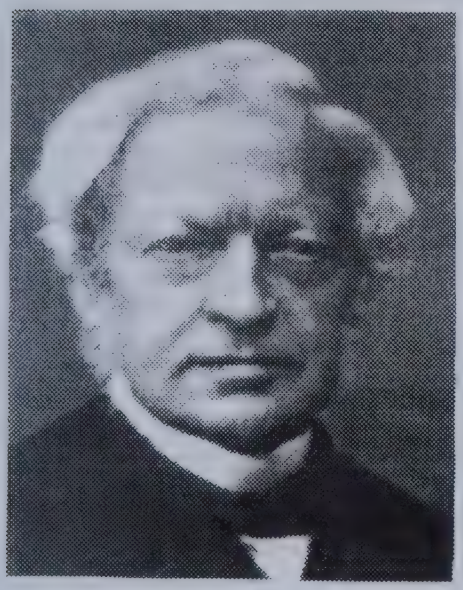
209) Gennadius Library 14/302(b). There are 5 copies of this letter and an other in Section G file 1"Varia"

large nubber were written. It's clear that Schliemann here functioned as a human copying machine. That quite a lot of copying was done by hand in those days is clearly to be seen on "B.H. Schröder & Co.'s Price Current Amsterdam, 24th January 1845."

"Begging your ieference [inference] to our last review of 31st ultimo, we herewith have the pleasure of continuing our advices respecting the state of our market.
The Netherland's Trading Company advertised yesterday the following public sales of their Java Coffee's ....." [210])



Bernhard Hinrich Schröder

This letter is clearly in an other hand and must have been written by a colleague of Schliemann. The way in which this letter is written shows however clearly that the mastery of the english language, as it was used by the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co., was high and as it enables us to see what was expected of a foreign language clerk in those days I' give a little more.

"As to the prospects of the article throughout the present year, we have many grounds for anticipating a splendid and remunerating trade and a fair and permanent improvement on the prices now current. The energic [energetic] measures again resorted to by our T.C. are calculated to act like a bar against any depreciation in value for a long time to come; the stocks held by the trade at the present moment are admitted to be unusually small even for the season of the year and we expect a good demand, when the market fairly reopens, particularly as owing to early stoppage of our navigation the interior was prevented from investing itself for the winter. From Java a considerable deficiency is expected in next season's supply and also from Cuba, where the damage done to the crop by the late hurricane has been very serious. This variety of circumstances, which speak fair in favour of the commodity coupled with the present low prices and extended scale of consumption, must indeed engage the attention of all classes interested in the article."

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210) Gennadius Library 16/303

Even if it's unclear what Schliemann exactly did in the first month of 1845, it's clear that he made something of a career during this year. At September 12 we find a russian letter that is addressed to: "Monsieur B.H. Schreder & Co Amsterdam a Monsieur Schlimman." [211] The next specimen of Schliemann's handwriting is dated September 20, 1845, and it's a translation of a russian letter. There is no sign that his career went as fast or as far as he tell's us in his american autobiography, but it's clear that he functioned well in the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. Since we find a number of russian letters [212] in his archive it's tempting to say that he made this career thanks to his knowledge of the russian language, but the number of letters that Schliemann saved is so small that they can't be more than a very small fraction of those that he must have been written in that year and since we have no idea in what language the others were we can impossibly say anything on the basis of those that are left.

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211) Gennadius Library 25/36

212) Schliemann saved an even larger number of letters of recommendation from different firms for different people. I have no idea what these had to do with him, or why he saved them.

Ludwig Schliemann

What ever the circumstances of Schliemann in his first years might have been, by 1845 they had become so good, that his one year younger brother, Ludwig Schliemann (1823-1850), also decided to find hid future in Amsterdam. It's unsure when exactly this idea came up for the first time, but by April 1, 1845, it's clear that Ludwig will go to Amsterdam. On that date he wrote a farewell letter to his sister Elise. It seems that Ludwig had a poetic stream in him, than he wrote his letter like a poem.

"Soon we will have the separation hour
Which might show it self to us in a separation for ever
Than oh, after our unbreakable fastened bonds
I leave the native heart
Maybe I leave you for ever
You that lovingly held me so long
Who already now participates in my far a way fate
and who so painfully fears my tears
It pulls me to Amsterdam, I can not linger
It drives me on, I do not know how
To that city, were all people unite by mercantile ties
There I have to go, there I will stay
The brother lives inside these walls
He is looking forward to my arrival
It comes nearer! He will no longer be sad
Cause his true brother has to follow his call
And so silence your complains
It is the holy power that has decided
Who speaks in parting on the separation day
Onwards with german youthful power!
Remember me when you read these lines my beloved Elise, your ever faithful brother." 213)

Judging by these letters Heinrich had asked his brother to come to Amsterdam and it seems that the picture that he had given, in his letters home, of his own circumstances, made Ludwig decide that it was worth while to answer his brothers call. Now Ludwig never became

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213) Gennadius Library 17. Ludwig clearly was not a great poet, but I'm afraid that I have even made it worse in translating it. It however shows that he was in contact with the sentiment of his days. Austin Alfred; The young emigrant's last night:
Sister, come to the dhestnut toll,
And sit with me on the dear old bole,
Where we oft have sate in the snow and the rain,
And perhaps I never shall sit again.
Longer and darker the shadows grow:
't Is my last night, dear! With the dawn I go.

Es wird bald die Trennungsstunde
Da mich vielleicht auf immer scheidend sieht
Dann will ich unserm ungetrübten festen Bund
Vertrauen auf den himmlischen Freund.
Vielleicht verlass ich Dich auf immer
Die Liebe Deiner Jugend mich treu umfasst
Die Heimathswolken sehen jetzt mein armes Schicksal theilen,
Und die so schmerzlich meine Trennung beweint.
Nach Amsterdam geht mich, ich kann nicht seine
Entweder mich fort, ich weiss nicht wann,
Nach jenem Staat, wo durch Handel alle Völker sich vereinen,
Da,

Da muss ich fort, da wird mich weilen,
Der Drang mich über jene Meere
Es treibt mich Schicksals weiser Ratschluss Ziel
Das Alles wird mich nicht lange trennen
Denn jenem Ruf soll folgen Dein Verlangen
Dann werden geht auf Dein Klagen
Es walte mich der Allgütigen Macht
Und spreche zum Abschied in Deinem Herzen:
Vereint mit treuster jugendlicher Kraft!"

17

Nimm Dich mein geliebt Elise den Lesen dieser Zeile
Dein
Dein treuer Bruder
Louis Schliemann

Kerperow 1ten April 1845.

famous, infect he already died a couple of years later, and so there is little known about him. The view letters however that are left of him give us a slight impression of who he was and so tell us a little about his brother. Ludwig clearly was not illiterate, he must have had a decent education before he came to Amsterdam. We have already seen that he had been in contact with the popular poetry of his days and the letter to sister Elise is not the only prove for this. There is one sheet of paper on which we find, in Ludwigs handwriting, 6 poems. Unfortunately Ludwig tried to get to many poems on to too small a piece of paper and so they are hardly readable and besides my knowledge of german poets of this period is to small to bring any of them home. It's however clear that he was under the influence of the classicistic ideas of his days.

"When friend Morphaus in a good mood
carried me in the realm of dreams
were down from heaven
my eyes saw Venus
who in the large hall of the gods
in the arms of Amor sank .... " [214])

Since Ludwig was only one year younger than Heinrich there up bringing can't have differed to much and so we can take it that Heinrich to must have been exposed to this way of treating the greek past.
It's not clear what Ludwig exactly knew when he came to Amsterdam, but by November 6 he was able two write to model letters of recommendation, one in German and one in English. It's clear that these letters were just models since the German one is dated Amsterdam November 6, 1845 and the English one is dated Valparaiso November 6, 1845. The first real letter we have from Ludwig is dated December 11, 1845. It's written on the paper of a shop [215]) that dealt in household en luxury goods. He must have shared some of his brothers peculiarities if it came to using languages, he wrote this letter in English. Was he showing off his knowledge?

"Dear brother!
Last night, when I was sitting upon my chambre, and heard the dreadfully storm I recollected my with great feelings on the horrible hours and dreadfully storm, which you hadet just now this night, four years ago, and which brought you in such a horrible situation to Amsterdam. Surely this night will always remain in your and my memory particulary as your comming hither, has pusched to your greatest advantage and fortun. What do you say to the letters of our dear sisters? They will have made you certainly much joy and awakened the sinceret feelings, to see them all again? Of this and other things on sonday more, when I schall come to you at half past five.
With sincerely love Your affectioned L. Schliemann." [216])

It's clear that Ludwig still had some trouble with the english language, but it's also clear that this didn't bother him to a point that he did not dare to use it. It's probably this boldness that both the Schliemann brothers shared and that in the end brought Heinrich all the languages that he knew. And so we can suspect that it was not as much the method that he

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214) Gennadius Library Section G file ! "Varia" 4/368

215) Verkoophuis Vijgendam No 31 Amsterdam. According to Meyer K&F p. 113. Heinrich helped his brother onto a job with Schröder. I've not been able to find confirmation of this fact.

216) Gennadius Library 50/305

used, but the daring to use, that what he had learned, that made him so multilingual in the end.

It might be that Heinrich invited his brother to come to Amsterdam, but we can wonder if it really worked out as he had planed. In early September we find the first signs that he wants to leave Amsterdam.

Working in a changing world

In the seventeenth century the Netherlands were one of the wealthiest and most important countries in the world. Amsterdam was one of the largest ports. Commerce was the cork on which the dutch economy floated and with there location at the sea and there colonies in Asia and America, the dutch were able to control a large portion of world trade. In the eighteenth century this development came to a slow halt.

"The eighteenth century was, then, above all a period of rapidly developing merchant capitalism, and its greatest material reward went to that country which was in the best position for exploiting the possibilities of an expanding world market. Holland, in some respects admirably fitted for this role - for it hab both a flourishing mercantile marine and an abundance of accumulated capital - lacked both the military power necessary for keeping its hold on the distant trade with Asia and America and sufficient manufacturing industries of its own to afford a secure basis for commercial expansion. France, despite its advantages in wealth, population, and manufacturing skill, both dissipated its energies over-much in the quest for military supremacy in Europe and kept its industry and commerce in too close tutelage for them to develop freely. Germany was still far too divided, and for the most part too backward in both industry and commerce, to make any bid for supremacy in distant markets. Upon Great Britain, therefore, the new wealth which arose from the opening up of trade with East and West was showered most abundantly, and the foundations of Great Britain's commercial supremacy were laid even before the great inventions had begun to revolutionise the methods of production." [217])

The technological changes, that had started in the eighteenth century, slowly picked up speed and became the industrial revolution of the early nineteen hundreds. This revolution is in general put on a pair with the development of the steam engine, but we can wonder if this machine really was the course of it all and if the invention of a number of machines, that made agrarian production less labour intensive, was not more important. With the lowering of the number of people, that worked the field, there became a large potential of labourers, that could work in industry. The industrial revolution probably only could develop its speed while on the one hand the steam engine made large scale production possible while the agricultural sector delivered the personnel to work with these machines. As a theoretical starting point we can take the year 1750, in which the Newcomen beam engine was invented. This is normally seen as the first working steam engine, but we have to realize that it was still very primitive. In practice it was no more than a not to well functioning pump and so it won't come as a surprise, that the influence of this machine on economics as a whole is neglectable. Even after James Watt, together with Boulton, in 1744 started a factory, of highly improved steam engines, in the surrounding of Birmingham, it still took a long time before this machine really started to have it's influence on the economic system. In 1815 there were 42 working steam engines in Birmingham, by 1830 this number had risen to 120 and by 1840 it had become 240. To get the industrial revolution a foot there still was a third requirement to be full filled, transport. In order to obtain a profit of the large

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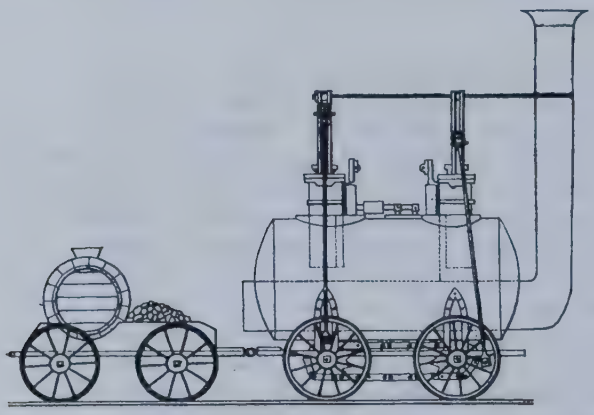
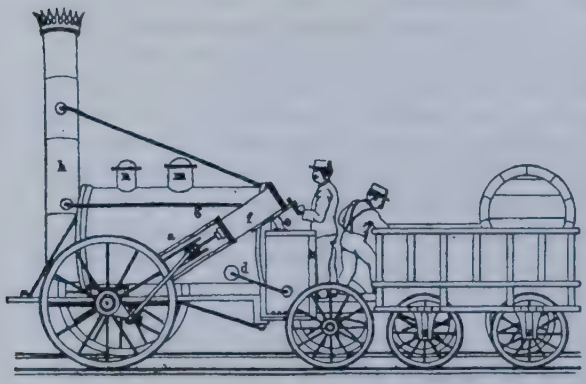
217) Cole, G.D.H.; Introduction to economic history 1750-1950. Macmillan 1952. p. 38

quantities, that one could produced, one needed an easy way to get them were ever they were needed. In other words, the newly developing industries needed a connection with the already established mercantile network. Practically this meant that goods had to be transported to the coast. While one leaked a good road network, over land transport was slow. At first the answer was sought in the building of water ways, but the problem was not really solved until the steam engine was changed into the steam locomotive. With the coming of the railways it became useful to produce in large quantities. The first public rail road, Stockton to Darlington, was opened in 1826. That the industrial revolution in England started up earlier and faster than in the rest of Europe is easily to understand when one looks at the way the english rail system was developed. In 1850 one had 6.600 miles of rail in England, 3600 miles in Germany, 2000 miles in France, 300 miles in Russia and 270 miles in the Netherlands. [218])



Stephensons "Iron horse" (1815-22).



Stephenson "Rocket" (1829).

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218) Cole pp. 50-51. One has to realize the size difference of the different countries to see the real meaning of these numbers.

As "Amsterdam" businessmen Schröder and later Schliemann belonged to the "merchant capitalism". They earned there money by bridging the cap between the places that delivered the products and those places were the consumers lived. Transport was there added value, this in contrast to the coming up "industrial capitalism" were the changing of the product was the added value. In this sense we can say that Schliemann didn't belong to the economic avant garde of his days, like for instance Siemens, but had his feet in the seventeenth century. The world around him however was changing rapidly. The newly developing industry needed labourers, that lived in the neighbourhood of the factory. The country started to depopulate and the cities started to grow rapidly. The old social structure was changing, a new class was emerging. A new class with new problems and intellectuals started to react to these problems. In 1848 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published "The Communist Manifesto."

"The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compaired with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. ... The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomarated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands." [219])

"The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, ..." [220])

According to Marx and the communists there is only one solution:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proleterians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!." [221])

We have to realize that Marx and Engels lived in England were industrial capitalism was most advanced in those days. There were other countries that were still far behind. In the Russia of 1850 the feodal system was still in use and its economy still found its basis in the agricultural sector.

"Without fundamental changes in its social and economic order, it was impossible for the Russian Empire to meet the Western challenge. A few statistics, imprecise and crude as they are, illustrate the point dramatically. In 1820, France had a population of approximately 30 million, Britain one of about 12 million and Russia one of well over 40 million. Yet, in 1820, Russian pig-iron production was approximately 16,000 metric tons, that of France 113,000 (in 1819), and that of England 364,000. In terms of absolute production, Russia

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219) Taylor, A.J.P.; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The Communist Manifesto. Penguin Classics 1967. pp. 84-85

220) The Communist Manifesto p. 93

221) The Communist Manifesto pp. 120-121

was well behind Britain and a bit ahead of France, although on a per capita basis, Russia was already producing significant less. But, by 1850, the gap had expanded to a phenomenal degree. By that time, France had a population of 35 million, and the population of Britain had risen to about 18 million, while that of Russia stood at approximately 55 million. Yet by 1850, France was producing 406,000 metric tons of pig iron (nearly 400 per cent increase), Britain over 2 million tons (an increase of some 540 per cent) and Russia only 227,000 tons (an increase of only 41 per cent over three decades). ... By the mid 1840s, Russia's foreign trade was about one third that of France and only 18 per cent of Britain's; it comprised only about 5 per cent of the total for the major trading nations of Europe. Equally important, the major items in Russia's export trade continued to be raw materials and foodstuffs." [222])

Not until the abolishment of serfdom, in 1861, by which the number of agricultural labourers droped, the need for better agricultural technics arose, with the result that there became more labourers available for industry. When we look at a map we get the impression that Russia, through it's size, must be a large market, but that was, as we have seen, not the case. The largest part of the population lived of the land and only in Moscow and St. Petersburg there was some industry and a small market for luxury goods. Under these circumstances the "merchant capitalism" still functioned very well. An so we can see that Schliemann went from one economical back water to an other.

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222) Lincoln, W. Bruce; Nicholas I Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russians. Indiana University Press. 1978. p. 181.

In search of his own wings.

"In January, 1846, my worthy principals sent me as their agent to St. Pertersburg" [223])

What this concerns the official biography and the american biography are in concur.

"... I was sent by Messrs. B.H. Schröder & Co. as agent to St. Petersburg." [224])

At first glance this doesn't seem to illogical. Schröder Amsterdam was doing business with some Russian firms, so why not try to enlarge that market, why not send a man over there. They however had already, for a number of years, contacts with this country and so we can wonder why they not jet had an agent in place? The answer is quit simple. The Schröder family had its own firm in St. Petersburg, so why would Schröder Amsterdam need an agent in that place. We can even wonder if Schliemann would ever have stumbled on the idea to learn russian if the Schröder firm would not have had contact with the russian market. As we already have seen was H.E.Schröder married to Rosina Mahs. After his death in 1830 the firm went over to a relative of his wife and changed it's name to Alex Mahs & Co. The Mahs family however was closely tied to the Schröder family and so there was no change in relations. The Alex Mahs and Co. kept it's place in the Schröder network. Now the Schröder network was not a real multi national, they had no general board of directors in charge of the whole group. In fact it was a conglomerate of independent firms, that used each other when this was profitable, but kept there independent policies. In this way the connections between the different family members were not always as good, but the connections between B.H. Schröder Amsterdam and Alex Mahs St. Petersburg seem to have been as well as can be expected in such a system. They were even so good that Schliemann's first correspondence address in St Petersburg was the firm of Alex Mahs & Co. and the money that he got from Amsterdam was payed through them.

"Here with we credit you by Mr. A. Mahs & Co for SR 500 ..." [225])

It might be that Schröder Amsterdam could use an agent in St. Petersburg, but I wonder if they were really looking for one. Let's look at the letters that we have for this period and see what kind of story they have to tell.

On September 20, 1845, Schliemann got a letter from a russian merchant, Sergy Givago, who was, at that moment, in The Hague. It seems that the two gentleman had met previous to this letter. In Schliemann's archive is saved a translation, in his hand, of this letter.

"I had the honour to personally request you to buy for me, after the samples of the very best

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223) Ilios p. 11

224) Webber p. 11

225) Gennadius Library 100

Java Indigo that you showed me. The purpose of this letter is to ask you to buy in total for three or four thousand russian Silver Ruble Java Indigo for me and to send it to St Petersburg to Heinrich Poppe. The last has to becomes a copy of the bill of which I am looking forward to the original, so that I can make the necessary calculations and pay you which a draft on a credit account with Mr. Schröder Mahs in Hamburg. As soon as you have made the necessary steps, for the purchase of Indigo for my account, you have to notify me immediately per Address Hotel 'Nieuwe Doelen' in the Hague. I take it for superfluous to remind you that, since I have decided to leave, with my family, for Italy in 8 days, I would like to see this deal concluded during my presents. When, however, this is not possible and the bill is not ready before my departure, I will pay when the order is ready and ask you to send the original bill to Mr. I Welikanoff in Florence and the copy to Poppel in St. P.

With friendly greetings and the best wishes for your health I remain, Segey Givago." 226)

Just an average business letter like Schliemann must have received hundreds in those days. It shows us that he had some independence in the Schröder firm, but the fact that he made a German translation also shows that he had to make this correspondence accessible for others, probably his patrons. It seems that Schliemann worked fast and made a trip to the Hague to have a personal conversation with Sergey Givago, that was not kept to the purchase of Indigo, but in which Schliemann seems to have spoken about his future plans. It's also possible that this conversation had already happened before Givago wrote the above quoted letter and that the contents of it only slowly did its work. That it did its work is however clear. On September 22 Givago wrote a second letter to Schliemann. This time the contents is totally different. Here again we have Schliemann's own translation.

"Translation

's Gravenhage September 22, 1845

Mr. Hy Schliemann, Amsterdam.

In my conversation with you I noticed your desire to make your mercantile career in Moscow; as I conclude from your communication you wish to become the agent of B.H. Schröder there. Since you have no acquaintances in that city and know nobody in the mercantile circles there your find this undertaking somewhat scary, and you do not want to spend money unnecessary by a trial or lose time on such a far trip. One can not do anything against fear and prejudice, when those are founded on a hearty opinion. When one does not know the people and there business, one can easily make a mistake in giving them credit, like it happens unfortunately way to often these days, yes, even when one is very careful; - in case one has no acquaintances one can stay out of business for a long time; - Your fear rightly and are sensible. Under these imaginary difficulties I like to propose to you an association under the following conditions: - We open a mercantile house in Moscow under the name of Givago & Schliemann in which I put the sum of fifty to sixty thousand silver Ruble of my own fortune, under the condition that you become the agent for B.H.Schröder & Co. and probably for other houses, when this gives us the prospect of profit. When we by export or import of goods for our account we always work with cash, so we have, according to the law of associations, to divide the profits and the loses; - the profit that we make we split between us in two equal parts. Even while I toled you this already in our conversation, I here with repeat it in a letter, so that you can consider it carefully and make the proposal to Mr. Schröder. When your patron is so good as to consent, so let his advice be your guide and write me the conditions that you both see as necessary. I have however to state that I with the grounding of such a house will not occupy my self for a short term and so we have to bind our

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226) Gennadius Library 29/40 This letter is written in Schliemann's hand and probably a translation in German of a Russian original.

self by a contract or a letter from Mr. Schröder for at least five or six succeeding years. Under all circumstances I am ready to follow advice, that is given by experience and insight, even as the future is hidden to me just as to you. I already feel warm sympathy for you in such a way that I am ready, with a part of my fortune, to start with you and your, by everlasting trouble acquired knowledge, such a business. The one and the other gives me the feeling that our business will be profitable, for you and for me in mutual honesty, the foundation on which tenaciousness and duration build businesses. After I now have brought my wishes, with sincere open-heartedness, in to the light of day, I will ask you to carefully think it over and to write me your thoughts on it; please write your meaning freely, like you think it and reframe from all ceremonies, that lead to nothing; in every word there must be clarity and honesty, so that this undertaken will carry fruit as well for you as for me, and we will not be a burden to each other. When we together, agreeable and beneficial, with our business want to go on the road of work and a good name you have to realize that I fail the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge, which will give you more trouble and work, which I like to state to you so that it will not work against me, when I would notice this it would pain me very much. I write this in all openness and so I repeat to you that we can not start such a business without the consent of Mr. Schröder and so I have to bid you to tell me in all detail what he thinks about it and when he is happy with it so our business can get a good basis and be of a long duration. When however your patron has objections against it I ask you to return this letter to me and to allow me to remain in your memory.

Your devoted regarding friend and servant, Sergey Givago." [227])

Unfortunately I don't know the original letter and so I have no idea how accurate Schliemann's translation is. It almost sounds to good. It is unknown if Schliemann talked about this letter with B.H. Schröder and/or what he thought about it. Since Schliemann, after this, never seems to have talked about it again, we can be sure that it didn't materialize. The firm of Givago & Schliemann was never founded. Unfortunately documentation for this period is very incomplete and it's unclear to me why Schliemann saved the letters that we now find in his archive. Knowing this we have to be very careful with the conclusions we base on them. It seems however that something was moving in the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. On September 26 they got a letter from a Mr. G. Janssen who wanted to get a job in this firm. This young man had experiences with a number of firms and told of him self that he knew all the ways of book keeping that were used in those days. He also explained that he was an experienced correspondence clerk and than he gives us a remarkable bit of information, that probably shows us what they were looking for at Schröder's.

"In my career up till now I hardly had the opportunity to exercise my foreign languages in the praxis, but since they always have been my favoured study, I hope to be able, with diligence and assiduity, soon to replace what only in the beginning will be absent. Russian I do not understand, I only just have started learning this language." [228])

And so we get the impression that they were looking for a russian speaking correspondent at Schröder's and we can wonder why? Were they expecting a grows in there russian interests or did they need a replacement for Schliemann? Since we have no idea if Schliemann was the only russian speaking clerk in this firm or not, it is impossible to state any definite conclusions. We can even wonder how definite Schliemann's russian plans were. We can however be fairly sure that he was looking around to other possibilities. On October 13 he

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227) Gennadius Library 31/43. Translation from russian original into german by Schliemann

228) Gennadius Library 33/466

received a letter from an acquaintance who lived in Paris, Franz Hüllman. It seems that Schliemann had written to him some time before, cause the letter starts of with an apology for not answering sooner. Than Hüllman tells Schliemann that he still works at his old firm and is very pleased with this job. Infect he doesn't even dare to look for an other, since he doesn't believe that it would be worth the trouble. After that he gives a sketch of the job situation in Paris.

"However, do not believe that one can find good jobs at the side of the road here, like the prostitutes in your place [229]). I like to help you out of your dreams. Good jobs are extremely rare here in Paris. I even know some gentleman, who, just like the others, can not find anything. Many of my friends are already for more than two month without a job and can not find anything. Everyone guards what he has and for the rest it is up to the good lord and without a good recommendation it is hard to find anything." [230])

Was Schliemann thinking about a move to Paris? He might have been, but by the time he received Hüllman's letter this plan was already cancelled. At October 7 he had written a letter to the firm of WST Schröder in Triest in which he had recommended him self to become there agent in St. Petersburg. By this date Schliemann clearly had decided to try his luck in Russia.

"Thanking for your esteemed letter of the 7th. First of all I want to congratulate you with your starting career and it will be very agreeable to us to start a brisk business-relation with you. We have only very little traffic with St. Petersburg, which limits it self to sumac. [231]) ... We will be happy to send, from January 1, our monthly message to stated address and to pay you for given orders or concessions 1% commission. ... Please be so kind as to give my regards and recommend me to my father and former collogues." [232])

At that same day Schliemann recommended him self with the firm of Jacob van Lennep & Co. in Smyrna. Van Lennep was an old Amsterdam mercantile family, that already for many years, had its own house in Smyrna. As far as I've been able to find out this is the only non Schröder related firm that Schliemann wrote to prior to his establishment in St. Petersburg.

"Amsterdam October 23, 1845

Messrs. Jacob van Lennep & Co., Smyrna.

After a stay of many years in the mercantile house of Messrs, B.H. Schröder & Co in this city, I now have taken the decision to establish my self in January as agent of for called firm in St. Petersburg.

Encourage by the flattering recommendation to you from my patron I take the liberty to offer you my services in the above mentioned capacity, wishing to be able to count your esteemed firm among those that already have given me there consent.

A thorough knowledge of mercantile business together with sufficient means and a large

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229) I wonder if we can read this line as a moral judgement of Amsterdam.

230) Gennadius Library 35/18

231) Sumac(h): leaves dried and ground for use in tanning and dyeing.

232) Gennadius Library 36/328. It's unclear who exactly the author of this letter is. It's signed with the firm name, but it shows clearly how these firms were related and were trained at each others companies. Schliemann had probably worked to gather with him in Amsterdam.

diligence for the interests of the houses, that I will represent at the location of my destination, are the guaranty of which I flatter my self that it will be sufficient to also represent your esteemed firm.

When you are inclined to answer my ardent wish to work for you, than it would be very agreeable to me when you, by return of post, would send me some specifications about my conditions and some information about how to buy and sell of articles with you. Your mercantile place in St. Petersburg will be highly agreeable and I believe to be able to ensure you that my friendly relations with some of the largest russian houses will not little contribute to enable me to initiate and cultivate good and profitable deals for you.

When it would be easier for you to correspond in an other than the dutch language, so I am perfectly ready for it since I'm equally skilled in English, French, High German and Italian.

Looking forward to your esteemed letter I remain with the highest estimation,

your servant, Hy. Schliemann" [233])

It seems that B.H. Schröder knew about Schliemann's undertaken, but it's not before October 27 that he gave his consent in writing.

"Relating to our verbal communication we here with affirm for good order that we are gladly inclined to assign our business for St. Petersburg and Moscow to you, in as far as you are ready to take care of them and send us orders and consignations of respectable houses and that we have no objections when you, together with Mr. Sergey Givago, in mentioned way, work for our interests. For all orders and consignments that you send us and of which we obtain 2 % commission we will pay you 1%.

With regards B.H. Schröder & Co." [234])

And so it's clear that Schliemann was not send to St. Petersburg by the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co., but that they were of the opinion that he would start his own house together with Givago. On November 15 Schliemann got a letter from Anth. Schröder & Co of Le Havre. [235]) They too would gladly use him as there agent in Rusia. On November 19 he got an answere from van Lennep of Smyrna.

"We do not have the hounor to know you, but the recommandation of this excelent hause, that you have given us, made that we doubted not a moment to except your offer, ..." [236])

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233) Schliemann copybook. Gennadius Library 11. This letter is written dutch. It's noticeable to see that Schliemann didn't mention Spanish in his language list. It's however certain that he must have been able to read this language to some extant. The letters that he received from Juan R. Brakel from Paris (a.o Gennadius Library 38/15) are written in a mixture of french and spanish.

Ludwig too tells us that Schliemann applied for agencies before he left for Russia. p.71. "He indeed had let him self be made an agent from the different Schröder houses and from other firms: 'I do not want to give you any expanses before you see that the results of my work are in your interest, and so I ask you to send me your letters un prepayed.' The only letter of self recommendation that I was able to find is the one to van Lennep. It's possible that there is also one to Schröder Le Havre, but that is, thanks to Schliemann's copying technic unreadable. I've not been able to find the letter that Ludwig quotes here."

234) Gennadius Library 37/202

235) Gennadius Library 42/306

236) Gennadius Library 43/55

It's clear that Schliemann had set his mark and that everything was in motion. He was ready to go and it seems that he already had a date in mind. It also seems that he was looking further than just the Schröder firms. He writes to an old friend in Rostock, H. Friedrichsen.

"Dear Friend

Answering to your letter from the seventh of this month I gladly take, for a short moment, the opportunity to talk to an old friend. In earlier days I often asked your brother for news about you, that to my great pleasure always sounded good, which was extra enjoyable to me, while I - to be honest- at your departure to Hamburg, had not to big an opinion about your future career. You have your self, dear Schliemann, cleverly developed and proven that one, with the iron will to go forwards, will really brings it to something respectable. I am, as you know, still an employee in the sugar factory of Berchards, were I keep the books, I make annual three trips and weight stoical candies and syrup; really a totally different occupation than yours, I however keep with the proverb, stay at home and feed your self honest and have many an advantages proposal rejected, since I hope that the time is not far in which I can found my own firm. Unfortunately I am afraid that your stay in Rostock will coincide with my winter trip and that I so will be robed of the great enjoyment, to see you again, after such a long separation; what your personal advantage concerns I am afraid that I here with have to send you disappointing information about the state of our business. I am of the opinion that it is worth the trouble to try to get mercantile relations, even while many an Amsterdam house has already an agent here and our colonial trade has suffered a lot in the last years by concurrence from all sides. ..." [237])

It gives the impression that Schliemann also was sounding out in how far he could get an agency for his native country, Mecklenburg. However from the product information in this letter it's clear that there was nothing to do there for a man with Schliemann's ambitions. Mecklenburg just wasn't wealthy enough to be interested in the quantities in which Schliemann wanted to work. By this time it seems to have been general knowledge that Schliemann was on his way to Russia. François Hülmann is very pleased for him and gives Schliemann a picture of his future.

"I liked your letter very much, I have read and reread it and could not believe what I read, but I do believe and when I think back I have no doubt. It is a great joy that your big chance has come. I make you my compliments and I feel a great happiness for you and I am convinced that you have solely to thank your self, that you have arrived here is thanks to your everlasting study, in which you broke your head even when you needed rest. Soon you will be your own patron, you will work in your own employment, you will have a beautiful house, the basis on which you can take a nice wife." [238])

It's compleetly clear that Hülmann is under the impression that Schliemann starts of on his own and is not send of as an employe of B.H. Schröder & Co. Schliemann is going to start his own, independent house. By December 11 Schliemann has set the date. He writes his landlord.

"Mr. Werner, in this city.

I here with send you the rent for which I am looking forward to a receipt and at the same time have to tell you to my regret that I, as a consequence of my future trip to St.

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237) Gennadius Library 46/256 Also partly quoted in Meyer Briefwechel I p. 34

238) Gennadius Library 47/19. Paris November 19

Petersburg, on which I will start on the 16 - 18 of next month, can only keep my room until January 11. If it is convenient for you I will gladly stay until the day of my departure, for which I will pay you over the days between the 11th and the 16 - 18th in relation the monthly rent, ..." [239])

In Mecklenburg however they seem to think that his departure is some what earlier. The brothers Heinrich and Ludwig get a letter from there father and there brother Paul.

"So I will see you, my beloved son Heinrich, one more time, already after Christmas, and take you in my arms. Nothing could be more unexpected for the old man in all his troubles and nothing could faster give him enjoyment and happiness than this massage. It seems that you doubt this since you write that you will visit me if I will allow you. Oh my Heinrich, have I earned it that my children first have to ask my permission when they want to visit me. Absolutely not. When God allowed I would see al my children every day and I would have them all with me as long as my father heart kept on beating. So come my good son, come in the arms that have carried you so often in your childhood days. Make it however so that you can stay at least a week with us. Unfortunately I will not be able to keep you in the way that you are now used, than my house is verry small." [240])

From the tone of the letter it's clear that Schliemann didn't really live on to good a foot with his father, but he is welkom home. His youngest brother Paul is also looking forward to seeing him, and he sounds more convincing than his father. It's clear that this visit did not take place in 1845 and it's very doubtful that Schliemann visited his family in early 1846. On January 8 counsul Quack wrote out his pasport for St. Pertersburg. However Schliemann's departure was some wat posponed. On January 9 he got a letter from the firm of G.H. Schröder in Bremen, who too wanted to use him as an agent. On January 15 he still was in Amsterdam. On that date B.H. Schröder wrote out two letters of recommandation for two firms in Riga, so that he could visiy those on his way to Russia. Some time after this date he must have left Amsterdam, cause on January 20 he recieves a letter from L.C. Münch of Bremen by way of the firm of Schröder Gebrüder in Hamburg. Unfortunately we don't know what his first impressions of this city were this time. He must have found Hamburg quite different from the last time he had seen it, since it had been distroid for more than a third in the great city fire of 1842. Later on we will hear that he also met Wendt again at this occasion. When exactly he travelled on and what his route was is unknown, but it is clear that he was expected to reach St. Petersburg somewere around January 30. On that date the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. wrote its first massage to him.

"Esteemed Mr. Schliemann

Your letter of the 20 of this month from Hamburg came on time in my possession and I thank you for the information you gave through it. I soon hope to hear about your happy arrival there and am curious to hear how business looks, especially if you see a possibility for orders on madder, ..." [241])

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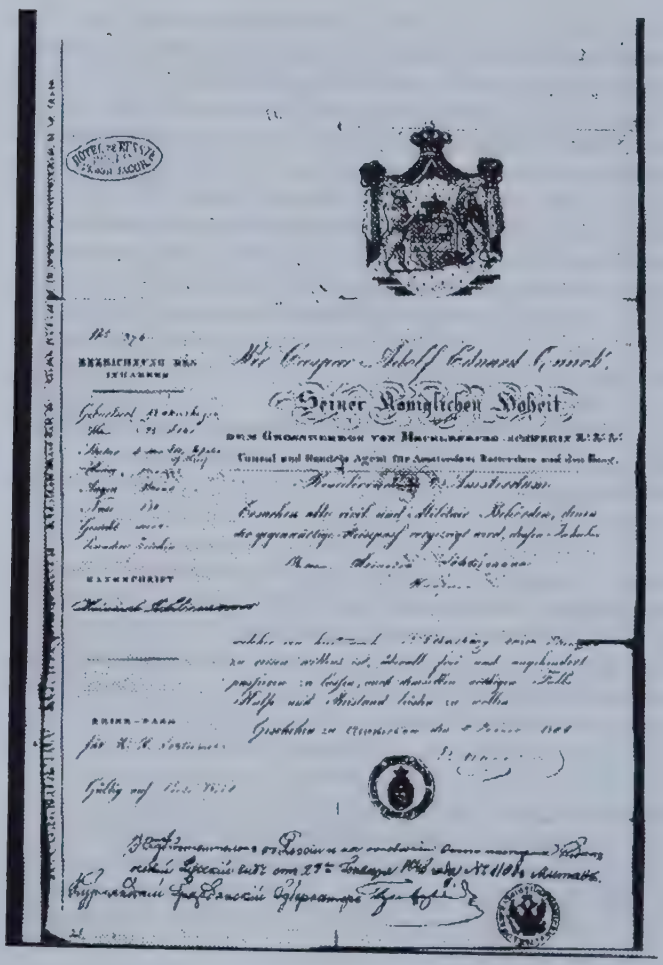
239) Schliemann copy book. Gennadius Library 16

240) Gennadius Library 52/261. Paul's letter is 51/362

241) Gennadius Library 66/138 The date of January 30 agrees with the American autobiography. Webber p. 11. "I arrived here in St. Peterburg for the first time on the 30th January, 1846, ..."

And so it's clear that Schliemann was not send to St. Petersburg by the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co., but went there of his own free will to start up a business house of his own.



Schröder Amsterdam
Schliemann St. Petersburg

"... in Amsterdam I was only a clerk, and my position was a dependent one, subject to the caprice of my employers; besides, I was not sure of succeeding at St. Petersburg, where instead of success I might have made a complete failure." [242])

In principle there were three basic ways in which a mercantile house could function in those days.

A. One could be the agent of an other house. In this way one made sure that the other firm became clients. One was a middleman between buyer and seller and became a percentage of the profit. In case of to much losses one lost its agency. One needed almost no capital for this. In this way the risks and possible income were relatively small.
B. One bought, together with one or more other firms for it's own account and soled for this shared account. In this way the profit and losses were shared between the partners. One needed a small capital for this. In this way the risks and the possible income was much higher.
C. One bought for its own account and so all the profits and all the losses were for one self. One needed a large capital to do this. In this way one played all or nothing and so could make enormous profits or bankruptcy.

In practise most mercantile houses used all three way at the same time as to spread there risks and get a more or less stable profit on there investments. In the Amsterdam correspondence we can clearly see that B.H. Schröder & Co. too worked with spread risks. Most of the time they too worked as agents and only bought when they had an order. As to be able to do this they informed Schliemann on there possibilities.

"Madder is somewhat more wanted since last week and by stable supply soon will become better. Since the harvest, in the best case, will not be more than 5000 barrels it soon will be gone. If we soon get orders we still hope to buy for the prices that you have. We already have made a bit on some good lots about which we will have an answer in the coming days. As soon as we know that something is to be done with it at your place we will secure us some more and so are looking forward to your massages. 1844 cleaned [madder] the best f43 to 46. Small and fine f39 to 42. Unclean f34 to 37." [243])

It is clear that they try to work in model A and C. They try to get orders on which they will buy and they buy some on there own account.

"Sugar. The next sale of the Company is announced for February 26 and exists of 40/M

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242) Ilios p. 12

243) Gennadius Library 67

Krajangs. [244]) At the moment it is weak and so it will be possible to buy below November. We our self still have some hundred Krajangs and will have some 7000 from Mr. Rupe to sell."

In this case we get a combination of all three models. First they are able to buy as agents, if that would be necessary, however they also still have some that they had bought for there own account. Since they expect the prices to drop, they probably would be most happy to sell those first. And in the end they also work together with Mr. Rupe. In this last case it's not completely clear if they work on commission or on a split account.
Schliemann started out as an agent and so his job was to find buyers. This way of working had as its biggest risk that you could find clients who wanted product A, but your house only had product B. In this way you couldn't make a sale and so you had no income. To minimise this risk most agents worked for a number of houses, so that they enlarged there possibility of finding the right product for the right client. In practice they operated as merchants who had a wide range of products for sale and always hoped that they could obtain the product that they could sell. To keep the story simple I will limit my self here to the relation Schliemann and B.H. Schröder & Co.
Since the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. often worked as an agent them self there were some extra problems for Schliemann. To make a profit as an agent, in this construction, it was not only necessary to find orders, but to find such orders that the house, for which you worked, could make a profit on them too. Your profit was directly linked to the profit of your (partner) house. This was a kind of gambling game when the house for which you worked did not have what you soled, but had to buy it after they had obtained the order. The agent had to go by the prices that the different products were soled for in the past and only had to hope that it was not soled out or dramatically raised in price by the time his order reached the house for which he worked. The next problem was that the agent had to sell products that he had never seen and so could not really guarantee the quality. In some cases however he received samples to show to his potential clients. So the agent had basically two problems:

I. He could not guarantee the quality. " That after a sample there rarely are 10 barrels to be found that are the same is something that you know." [245]) This is no wonder since the samples were not of a product that they had, but of a product that they thought to be able to buy. So in the end the Amsterdam firm went looking for something that was more or less the same as the samples they had send sometime before to St. Petersburg.
II. One could not guarantee the price. "Good quality like they want there is hard to come by and will soon be rare and so we will not be amazed when we soon have to raze it with some guilders." [246]) Since one had to buy the product after one had obtained the order one was dependent on the price development on the market.

With these odds it will come as no surprise that the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. liked an open back door. " You can except unconditional orders after any of the samples you have." [247]) It seems that Schliemann early on made some mistakes in this game and underestimated the risks that was involved, but he was immediately put on the right track again.

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244) Krajangs should be Kradjang. this is the Indonesian word for a basket made from bamboo in which sugar was shipped.

245) Schröder to Schliemann Gennadius Library no. 74

246) Gennadius Library no. 74

247) Gennadius Library no. 74

"Since this quality is absolutely not cheap we have to ask you not to make fixed sales for quantities that we not have or otherwise you will bring us in problems, especially since the buyers want exactly that quality, like you keep on writing us. We are also always dependent on the mood of the buyer if we, like with Bartelink, buy on the condition that the buyer is allowed to approve the quality." [248])

So Schliemann should not sell without leaving an open back door in case one could not deliver and the clients should take what was bought for them. This policy had as a drawback that they quit regularely had orders that they couldn't excecute. In that case they tried to rewrite them to one of the other Schröder firms. If possible they liked to keep it in the family.

"Of the order of Mr. Malutin Gebr. for 2000 casks or 70/M Bimas Sapan wood we take note and are busy to buy at least a part of it for f8,75 or if possible 8,25. When the hamburger lot is still free we will use that to compleat the order for the same price. You should tell Mr. Malutin that the greatest care in the execution of his order is secured." [249])

"P.A. Alexejoff. We have gladly noticed his order of 80/4 cases of Indigo and Curcuma [250]). We hope to buy his Campeche Blue wood, Bima Sapan and Curcuma, but his order of St. Marten wood & Domingo blue-wood are re written to Le Havre since there is no stock at the moment here." [251])

The other Schröder firms did the same thing for Amsterdam. On March 28 Schliemann had placed an order with Schröder Le Havre [252]). They however were unable to deliver and so they passed it on to Amsterdam, which in his turn immediately notified Schliemann about there possibilities.

"From Le Havre one has send us [an order for] 5000 K Cuba and just as much Tempico yellow-wood for Aleksejeff, since this is not to be had there. To day we have bought 2500 K nice Cuba yellow-wood for f6 and will ship it with the Indigo." [253])

In this way the firms and there agents kept there risks as low as possible and at the same time tried to keep up the appearance that they were always able to deliver. There was however an other problem. How hard they tried they could not prevent there clients from finding out that they were not always able to deliver. These clients now, since they could only place non binding orders, played the same game and placed orders with a number of agents and in the end only bought what suited them best for the lowest price. This had as a disadvantage that sometimes two houses were biding against each other at an auction for the same potential client and that was not good for there profits.

" When the Malutin Gebr. like to do anything of importance in this, so they are best of when

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248) Gennadius Library no. 112

249) Gennadius Library no. 81

250) I have not been able to identify this product. For the other products see next chapter.

251) Gennadius Library no. 112

252) Gennadius Library no.117

253) Gennadius Library no. 147

they trust us alone with the order, in that way we can control the market and keep the prices low, which is not the case if other houses here also buy for them. That we are knowledgable in this article is known to you and so we only need to know how much in what quality they want to buy. We are certain that if we take several hundred barrels out of the marked that the prices, after shipping, will raise at your place." [254])

Since we have a good number of letter for 1846 it's possible to follow the price development of certain products. Since madder was the most talked about product I've followed it's price development over the year. Since this is an agricultural product we would expect that there were large variations between the period in which it was harvested and the period some month prior to harvesting. Remarkable enough however there is little of no price variation over the year. Only during the winter month we see a small drop, but this probably to be explained by the fact that in those month the trade on Russia came to an halt. All in all I got the feeling that production and demand were more or less in balance. It is clear that the mercantile houses could not make there profits on this product with speculation on price development and so they had to make there profit by placing large quantities. The fluctuations in the prices of dyewood, coffee and cotton were much higher and thus these products gave a better chance for speculation. There was however the enormous set back that the amount that came on the marked was rather small and infrequent and so they often could not deliver. All in all I got the impression, by the incomplete figures that are to be found in the Schliemann archive, that even while profits on the last products often were high it was in the end the steady madder trade that kept them in business and made there wealth grow.

As we have seen Schliemann had made a deal with B.H. Schröder & Co. before he left Amsterdam. He got 1% on every deal were they got 2%. This clearly was a very advantages deal. In September 1846 there seems to have been some problems about payments between Schliemann and the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. Unfortunately the correspondence between these two partners, as it is now to be found in the Schliemann Archive, is highly incomplete and so it's no longer possible to find out what exactly went wrong between the two, but it is clear that Schliemann likes to get more out of a deal than Schröder is ready to give.

"Without talking about the way in which you claim the 8 Rbl 58.60 and answering you in the same way we like you not to forget that you get 1% provision while our other agents and those of other houses, large or small, only get 0,5%. Further we like you to remember that it was you who used the way, in which other houses calculate there cost, as a lead and that it was you that engaged your self, before you left, for 1% with cost of postage for you and so it should not appear as unjust to you when we refuse the compensation." [255])

It is unclear if the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. really payed more to Schliemann than to there other agents or that this was just a way of putting pressure on him. It's however clear that Schliemann was also offered 1% for his services by the firm of G.H. Schröder of Bremen [256]) and by WST Matth Schröder of Triest. [257]) Of the correspondence between B.H. Schröder & Co. and Schliemann only a part of the Amsterdam letters are saved, but even while this

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254) Gennadius Library no. 95

255) Gennadius Library 318

256) Gennadius Library 58

257) Gennadius Library 36

part is clearly incomplete we can read how Schliemann established him self in Russia during his first year. It started of easily, as is to be expected.

"Do not let it immediately deter you when people do not immediately come with orders, this will get better and better. Just tell the friends that it does not fail BHS&Co on knowledge or means to oppose all concurrence Especially standing orders are protected by us and when these people are not content by the way we have executed those orders we will gladly go without commission. From here it will not fail in support and so I hope that we soon will get in there with solid service." [258])

B.H. Schröder & Co. gave Schliemann a lot of room to manoeuvre and this soon payed off. Already on February 25. he was able to send his first order to Amsterdam.

"Against our last [letter] from 21 we became your letters from the 1 & 2. We note from it the transfer of an order for 10 barrels of fresh madder of f 33 for Mr. Malutin Gebrüder and will ship these next to the 30 barrels for Mr. Givago, ..." [259])

And so it seems that Schliemann almost immediately succeeded in finding clients, but that's not really true. Malutin as well as Givago were already, as we have seen, long time clients of the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co.
In his rush to get clients Schliemann sometimes was somewhat to optimistic and picked up orders that couldn't be executed for the price that the buyer wanted to pay.

"Against our last of the17th of this month we got yours of March 23/7 from which we, to our pleasure, note the order of Mr. P.S. Alexejeff from Moscow for
10 cases large corn silver grey Java cochineal of 365
50 blocks of Banra Zinn of f53 or 54
The last we soon hope to obtain for f 53, for the first however we do not have much hope for this limited price and so it would be dear to us if you made the buyer heighten his limit." [260])

To ensure a better sale Schliemann often used samples, these however were for his own bill and so went from his profit, unless he could make his clients pay for them.

"The customs and other expenses on the Indigo Samples you should recover from the buyers. We can not repay them to you since we pay you 1% commission and you have to pay for all taxes." [261])

Schliemann's most important job was to find new clients and there he got all the help that Amsterdam could give him. As soon as he had established a link they kept it going for him when he had to be else were.

"Madder. Of the for Mr. Bartelink bought 10 barrels of cleaned [madder] we have send the

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258) Gennadius Library 66

259) Gennadius Library 74

260) Gennadius Library 100

261) Gennadius Library 274

samples straight to him in case you would be in Moscow at there arrival and have asked him to pas them on to you incase he will not accept them." [262])

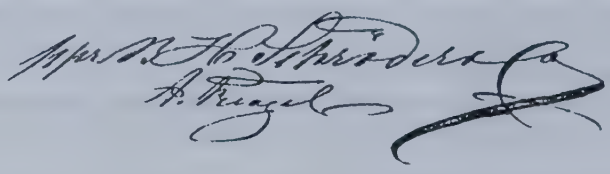
Strait from the beginning the correspondence between Schliemann and the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. was absolutely business. Already at the start of the second letter, that they wrote to him on January 30, the tone is clear.

"Hoping that you have arrived safely I mean by this [letter] to inform you about our market."

He had a steady correspondent in one of his former colleagues and there is only one letter in which it becomes clear that there were older ties between Schliemann and this firm.

"Neighbour van Kampen as all of our personal like to give you, just like me, there kindest regards

Your A. Prenzel" [263])



262) Gennadius Lirary 112

263) Gennadius Library no. 68a It seems that Schliemann also had a private correspondence with A. Prenzel. Gennadius Library no. 325: "I leave totally unnoticed what you remark in your private pages to this writer." Unfortunately nothing of this correspondence has resurfaced up till now.

About Bimas Sapan and Cochineal

"As I had acquired in Amsterdam a thorough knowledge of indigo, my transactions were almost exclusively limited to that article;" [264])

In his official autobiography Schliemann called him self an Indigo dealer and so he has become in the Schliemann literature. Most biographers tell us that he also dealt in other products, but they all agree that Indigo was his main product. [265]) In this way we not only have become the feeling that Schliemann was highly specialized, but that the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. was this too. This however is absolutely untrue. It was, thanks to unsecured arrival of products, almost impossible in those days to specialize one self to a small number of products. When one wanted continuity in his operations one needed a large number of different products. That the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. was dealing in a large number of products immediately becomes clear, when we take a look at the market information that they published. In a 3 page leavelet dated Amsterdam December 31, 1844 [266]) we find 16 product headings, that all give a large number of sub products and qualities. When we look under the heading of Indigo we'll see that this name was rather largely used for deywood. It is subdevided in: Indigo Java, Cochineal Java [no wood at all], Curcuma, Gall-nuts, Sumac [Rhus coriaria], India-rubber, Watapana [?], Deywood, Blue-wood, Campeachy [log-wood], Yellow-wood, Sapan-wood, Fernambuck [Brazil-wood], Lima[wood], Nicaragua[wood], Martens wood, Callatur [?], Sandel [wood], Quercitron [Quercus tinctoria], Madder. In April 1846 B.H. Schröder & Co. sended the english language "Amsterdam Price-Current" [267]) to its agents and family houses. In this we find 540 products mentioned by name. Since Schliemann as well as Alex Mahs & Co. got a copy of this price current it seems that B.H. Schröder & Co. were, in principal, willing to deal in all these products with Russia. In the correspondence however we find a some what smaller number of products in which deals were done.

Madder	51 times
Cochineal	39
Indigo	37
Cotton	34
Coffee	34

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264) Ilios p. 12

265) Moorehead, Caroline; The lost treasures of Troy. London 1994. p. 26: "What drew Schliemann to Russia was indigo, the dark blue natural dye imported from Java and India, in which Schröder & Co. had cornered the market." Trail, David; Schliemann of Troy, Treasure and Deceit. London 1995. p. 23: "Relying on the expertise and contacts in the indigo trade that he had developed in Amsterdam, Schliemann built up his own business steadily by restricting himself initially to transactions in that commodity."

266) Gennadius Library 15/303

267) Gennadius Library no. 157

Bimas Sapan	32
Sugar	32
Banra Zinc is mentioned	18
St. Martens wood	18
Tobacco	14

Next to these we get a hand full of products that are only mentioned once or twice. So it's clear that the majority of the products, in which B.H. Schröder & Co. and Schliemann dealt, were for the production of dye, but it's also clear that they did more in Madder and Cochineal than in Indigo.

The most astonishing problem that I found, while reading these letters, is that most of the products in which they dealt are totally alien to me and so as to get some inside in the kind of business in which Schliemann was involved it's probably a good idea to first give some of these products a somewhat closer look.
One of the ways in which man seems to differ from the rest of the animal kingdom is his desire to make pictures. Prehistoric cave drawings were made with natural ingredients like charcoal, iron oxide or chalk. These dyes came readily from nature. In the course of the centuries man became better and better in obtaining dyes from different natural products. Only after 1859 he became able to make dyes in a totally chemical way. In that year the first dyes, that were produced from tar, came on the market and ever since the role of natural products in the production of dyes has become smaller and smaller. In 1846 however all dyes still had to be made from natural products and it are these product that formed the bulk of Schliemann's trade commodities.

Banra Tin: Schliemann's amsterdam correspondent consequently misspelt this word. It should be Banca Tin. This is a not completely clean Tin that is found on the Indonesian Island of Banca. It was used in the way of Chloride of Tin ($SnCl_2$) by the production of dye from Indigo and Cochineal.

Bimas Sapan & St Martens wood: These belong together with some other kinds, in which B.H. Schröder & Co also traded, to the group of red dye woods. These dye woods originate from different plant species of the Caesalpina family and were produced in East Indie, South America and the Caribbean. Fernambuck or real Brazil wood is produced by the Caesalpinia echinata and came only from Brazil. It came as arm thick, from the outside red-brown to almost black and from the inside yellow-red, sticks on the market. Other Ceasalpinia species delivered a lesser quality. They came under different names on the market: Brazil-wood, Bahama- or Brazilet-wood, California-, Jamaica-, Bahia-, All Saints-, Lima-, Nicaragua-, Costarica-, St. Martens- and Coulteriared-wood. Sapan wood came from the Caesalpina Sapan which grew in the Malayan Archipelago, on Ceylon and Java. They too came in arm thick sticks, but had a shinning light red-yellow centre. It was faster than the other kinds and could also be used for furniture. It gave a higher red colour than the other kinds.

It seems that Schliemann's correspondent in Amsterdam

was of the opinion that Schliemann knew all the ins and outs of the products that they had for sale and that he didn't have to give a decent description and so most of the time he writes about wood without mentioning what kind. There are even a number of times in which he also includes the Campeche group under this heading. Judging by these letters there trade in campeche wood was some what smaller than that in Sapan, consequently called Bimas Sapan, and St. Martens-wood. Domingo for instance is only mentioned in one letter.

Campechewood: It's also called blue-wood. This wood originated from the Haematoxylon Campechianum and is named after the Campechebay in Mexico were it first was found. This too came on the market in thick sticks. On the outside it looked violet- to black blue and on the inside yellow blown. The best kinds came from the west coast of Yacatan on the Campechebay, spanish blue wood, were however the production was small. A second good source were Honduras, english blue wood, and San Domingo. Jamaica, Martinique and Guadeloup produced a worse product that delivered a lighter colour blue.

It's clear that the red colouring products were more important for Schröder and Schliemann than those that delivered blue. This we also clearly see in the amount of Cochineal the sold. It is next to Madder there best selling product.

Cochineal: This was a dried louse of the genus Coccidae. It originally lived in Mexico on a cactus (Opuntia coccinellifera). It was generally cultivated in Middle- and South America, West- and East Indie, Java, in South Africa, Algeria and Spain. The female is 2 mm long and almost round, dusty white and without wings. The collected animals were killed with steam and dried in the sun. They became half round bolls, the size of a pea, covered in a black brown more or less white dust. On the inside they were purple red. The first harvest of the year was the best (Zakkadille). It was used in the production of Carmine.

The firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. and Schliemann dealt only in Java Cochineal. It came on the market in different qualities.

"Cochineal. The owner of the 49 Cases is unfortunately not on the market and will probably keep them for this own use, further more there have arrived 25 cases consisting of:

1 case of Zaccatille	of 425/430
1 large grain silver grey	395/400
17 small grain	340/345
1 very small grain & dust	290/310" [268]

268) Gennadius Library no. 213. Schliemann's correspondent writes consequently Zaccatille instead of Zakkadille.

Indigo: This is a blue dye that can be made of many different kinds of plants but never is found readily in any of these. The most important indigo plants are: Indigofera tinctoria, anil, articulata, sumatrana, arracta and argentea, Isatis tinctoria, Polygonum tinctorium and Nerium tinctorium. For the production of Indigo one most often grew species of the Indigofera family, who were cut when in flower. Under optimal conditions one had three to four harvests a year. The amount of Indigo that could be obtained differed from specie to specie and production area to production area. Bengal-indigo gave for instance 55 to 65 % indigo dye were Philippine-indigo only gave 10 to 20%.

Bengal-indigo came in London on the market. In the Netherlands one traded in Java-indigo. This was imported under direction of the dutch government which made sure that the supply was reasonably stable. There was however one big problem with Java-indigo. The amount of indigo-dye, that could to be won, differed from plant to plant and so it was very hard to tell how much indigo a certain lot would bring which in its turn made for quite a lot of problems about the quality.

"How P.S. Ponimoreff could refuse 41 cases of Indigo after he had accepted the samples is un understandable to us, since they certainly do not differ. That with Java not one piece is the same as the other is generally known." [269])

Madder: This was made of the roots of different members of the Rubia family. The harvest was in the fall of the second or third year. The roots have a length of 20 to 30 cm and a thickness of 5 - 12 mm. They are red brown on the outside and yellow red on the inside. It came in two qualities. Roots that were only grinded were called Madder (unberaubten Krapp). Roots that were first cleaned of there outside and than grinded were called cleaned Madder(beraubten Krapp). It became better with aging up to 5 or 6 years, after which period the quality went down again. Madder was mainly produced in France and the Netherlands.

"Madder old kinds are some what more wanted, some days ago 40 barrels 1843 cleaned madder red & yellow mixed were taken for F45, probably by G. & Co. for your place. With tomorrows steamer you will get samples of 36 barrels 1842, 1843 cleaned which are for sale for f44, further more 8 barrels 1843 cleaned for f44 & 12 barrels red madder 1844 for f30" [270])

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269) Gennadius Library no. 286

270) Gennadius Library no. 239. In this case the word yellow means light red.

Since the madder in which the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. dealt more or less grew in there back garden the transport costs will have been negrectable in compairison to the other dye products in which they also traded. This will probably explain there intrest in this product. There coasts were a lot smaller and madder was in Russia just as rare as for instance Java Indigo for which the transport costs were mutch higher.

That they also traded in cotton is easily understandable since most of the dye, that was made out of there raw materials, was used to colour textiles. Cotton was a related product which often was bought by the same buyers, since most of the dyes were made in the same production plants.
That they also did quite a lot in coffee and tea is probably only a result from the fact that both products were grown in the dutch colonies and often were transported in the same boats as the dye-woods. For these product they however needed other costumers and we can see them as an indication of how wide the merchants of those days saw there market. This was quite general and so we see how they buy cigars for a merchant, that they normally bought dye-woods for.

"Of the cigars that Mr. Givago got we have no more in our warehouse and will probably not be able to find more, we however will keep on trying." [271])

Unfortunately they were unable to execute this order but Schröder and Schliemann had no problem dealing in non related products. They also dealt in for instance Pepper, Lead and Camphor. What ever would bring them money.

"We send Mr. Wladimier Alexeef with the next steamer the talked about diamonds in consignation and hope that this will lead to large trades." [272])

The most logical conclusion of such kind of transactions is the money trade. The largest part of the business deals was in those days founded on concessions. Producers send there goods to mercantile houses so they could be soled. After this had been done the house became its per cents and the rest of the money went to the producer. In quite a good number of cases the mercantile house worked as an agent for the producer. This brought quit a lot of pressure on the producers of these products who had to wait for the sale before they got there investments back. So unless they had quite a lot of money, they got gaps in there production. To solved this problem mercantile houses started to give advances on the sale. This was done in the form of a "bill of exchange" that would pay of on the date that the products were soled. This bill of exchange gave the right to pick up a mentioned amount of money on a mentioned date. Most of these letters run for 90 days. So when one could or would not wait for 90 days one could sell this letter. The more days one had to wait for ones money the cheaper the letter was. These letter in them self so became mercantile commodities on which one could make a profit. A second advantage of these letters was that one could send them much easier abroad than plain money. When for instance some one in Russia had a dutch letter, he could easily send it to the Netherlands as payment for what he had bought there. Soon a number of Mercantile houses started writing out bills of exchange just for this purpose, while others started to trade in them.

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271) Gennadius Library no. 190. Yes this is the same Givago that Schliemann was supposed to start a mercantile house with.

272) Gennadius Library no. 266

"Enclosed
£3000 for December 4 on J.M. Stobart & Co. London which I like you to exchange as soon as the 2 month course is to be had for it." [273])

One of the problems with this system was that one had to know that the firm who had issued the letter really would be able to pay and this was often hard to know from a distance. Coins had there guaranteed value in gold, but this were just pieces of paper with no guarantee what so ever. One just had to trust the one that had written them out. And so it's easy to understand that letters of credit on well known houses became more valuable than those written out by houses nobody knew. In this way the more important mercantile houses developed them self to mercantile banks.

"We ask you not to buy letters of exchange from F.H.B., not unless they are guaranteed by Alexcejeff or an other well known house, while they are not secure enough for us." [274])

Contrary to J. Hy Schroder & Co. of London B.H. Schröder & Co. never became a real mercantile bank. There name was probably not big enough to become a real player in that field and so they left it to there cousins. When they needed letters of credit they wrote them out on the London firm.

"We have the pleasure to send you here with a letter of credit for £100 Sterl. (one hundred pound Sterling) in your name on J, Henry Schröder & Co. in London, ..." [275])

"In both places [St. Peterburg and Moscow] my endeavors were crowned with good success, so that after a few month I was enabled to establish myself here in Petersburg as whole sale dealer on my own account." [276])

Where Schliemann in his official autobiography tells us that he kept him self to Indigo, he tells us in his american autobiography that he within a year had established him self as a whole sale dealer. His american autobiography is in so far correct that he really, already in 1846, started to import for his own account. It is however clear that this was only small scale and it gives the impression that he was looking for a hole in the market. In first instance he seems to have been dealing in products that were some what alien to the long Schröder list. He tried his hand in what one almost could call real dutch products.

"With this steamer you will receive five casks of Herring" [277])

This trade seams to have been not without success than Schliemann immediately ordered an other famous dutch product. The Amsterdam firm made no problems they informed after the price and gave him the information that he wanted and since one never know were you can find some money, they also had done a little research into the Herring market.

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273) Heinrich Schliemann to F.C. Quien, September 5, 1856

274) Gennadius Library no. 274

275) Gennadius Library no. 336

276) Webber pp. 11-12

277) Gennadius Library no. 240

"Cheese is best to buy in August, at the moment the price is F15 to 25 depending on quality. New Herrings are noted for f140 to f150 the barrel, the news about the haul stays well and we expect low prices." [278])

It seems that Schliemann had found buyers for real dutch products, cause next he went for the absolute glory of the netherlands. He had a client for flower bulbs.

"The order for the flower bulbs of J.A. Buikoffsky we have rewritten to Haarlem and also ordered to cases for you, ..." [279])

I am unable to say if Schliemann's dealings in dutch products were really profitable or not since I've only studied his mercantile letters for the year 1846 and so do not know if he kept on ordering these kind of products or not. It is however to be expected that they only in a small way contributed to his later fortune, since the russian market for dutch luxury goods can't have been to big. I've only used them here to show that Schliemann already in his first russian year started to work for his own account and that he was ready to trade in what ever seemed profitable.

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278) Gennadius Library no. 240

279) Gennadius Library no. 304

307(6) H. Schroder & Co's Price Current 16

Amsterdam, 24th January 1845

Begging your reference to our last circular of 31st ultimo, we shall now have the pleasure of continuing our advices respecting the state of our market.

The Netherlands Trading Company announced yesterday the following public sales of their Java Coffee:

192.237 bales at Amsterdam } on the 9th March
28.678 " " Dordrecht }
150.203 " " Rotterdam } " " 17. "
21.858 " " Middelburg }

together 392.976 bales

publishing in the mean time, that the minimum price for good ordy would be fixed at 22½ Netherlands currency (in the proportion) whilst the quantity which should be withdrawn in the auctions shall be held at 22½ and only be disposed of by parcels of 250 bles. The 143.790 bles retained on last September are not comprised in the basis of annual sales and remain disposable on the above conditions at 22½ ct.

As to the prospects of the article throughout the present year, we have many ground for anticipating a splendid and remunerating trade and a fair and permanent improvement on the prices now current. The unique never again succeeded by our N.E. are calculated to act like a ban against any depreciation in value for a long time to come; the stocks held by the trade at the present moment are admitted to be unusually small even for the season of the year and we expect great demands when the market fairly reopens, particularly as owing to the early stoppage of navigation the interior must provide farm consuming wholly for the winter

Who knows, maybe there is money in Camphor

As we have seem were as well the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. as Schliemann always ready to try something new. When ever they ran into a product that promised a profit they tried it. In May 1846 some one in the amsterdam firm had the idea that camphor could maybe be a good product for Russia. This seams to have been a new product for them. Up to that moment it was never mentioned in the letters and it's also not to be found on the Schröder price lists. It is probable that neither Schröder nor Schliemann had any experience with it, but who would know what it could bring them. Camphor was a somewhat strange product. It is highly toxic (from hallucinations to paralyses), but was mainly used as a medicine. It was also used by the production of explosives and as an insect repellant in the wool and fur trade.
On May 26 this product appeared for the first time in the amsterdam letters. It's like a kind of P.S., as if the writer thought about it at the last moment.

"Raffinate Camphor in paper is for 60 for sale, as long as you do not give us an other address we will keep on sending our letters to A. Mahs & Co." [280])

It's clearly just a sideline remark, but fifteen days and five letters later they return to it. It seems that this remark had struck home in Amsterdam and had made than think. They have come to the conclusion that there is probably a lot of money to be made with this product. Now it prominently appears in the middle of a letter and they clearly like Schliemann to do something with this information.

"We hope to buy raffinate camphor in paper for 62,5, already for some time we pointed this out to you and are sure that for this cheap prise there is a lot to do at your place." [281])

Now they are clearly convinced in Amsterdam. This price is so low this should bring them a high profit. Four days later they again send an incitement to Schliemann.

"We can probably buy 10 barrels of 250 cases raffinate camphor in paper, with delivery of July, for 60. this price very low and needs all your interest." [282])

Now we have to note about which article they write to Schliemann. This is the third time that they speak of "raffinate camphor in paper". This is a clear description, this can't give no problems. Since we don't have the letters that Schliemann wrote to Amsterdam, we don't no what he answered. From the amsterdam letters however it becomes clear that he not only read there message, but that he had also found a client for this product. On June 30 he send

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280) Gennadius Library no. 201

281) Gennadius Library no. 218

282) Gennadius Library no. 225

his first order for this product to Amsterdam.

"We are glad to note the order of 10 barrels of raffinate camphor for H. Poppe, we however have to wait with the execution of it since you do not write us if he wants it with or without paper, which makes a difference of 15%, which is lost with the first, we also have to change our original quotation, since we can not allow 1% discount even if this product should be payed immediately up on delivery. Pleas make this known to Mr. Pope and let him give his order in writing so that we will not get any problems in the future, ..." [283])

This is strange. Why do they ask Schliemann what kind of camphor Mr. Poppe wants? They had only offered camphor in paper, so why do they now explain that this would mean 15 % less camphor? Had Schliemann been unclear in his letter, is it possible that he had not read there letters well and had soled camphor without paper? And why do they heighten there price, why do they want prompt payment and will no longer give the discount that they originally seem to have offered. Unfortunately it seems that there original quotation is missing and so I was unable to see if that might have held a clear mistake or not. However I get the feeling that they originally had been to optimistic and now, that they really have an order, see all kinds of problems. Schliemann seems to have taken his time in answering and by the next letter it's all as it was.

"On July 30 we wrote to you last and got against it yours from the 10th of this month, Concerning the 10 barrels of raffinate camphor we are awaiting your answer and ask you to tell us the prises that are to be expected at your place, 60 to 60,5 we hope to buy in paper." [284])

They still hope to buy for the same price, but they like to know what it will bring in Russia. In the mean time Schliemann had found a second costumer.

"We also are glad to note the order of Mr. B.M. Nockladnoff for 10 barrels of raffinate camphor for 60, we however wait with buying until your answer of our letter from June 30, after which we will buy the 10 barrels for Poppe and those for Nockladnoff. From England we hear that it is weak and so we lose nothing in waiting a little, since there is no want here and we will be able to buy for 60."

It seems that Schliemann kept on silent on the fact if Poppe wanted paper or not. On July 10 they wrote him again.

"Raffinate camphor stays 60 in paper, but we do nothing before we know if you have calculated on the 15% loss that is originated by the paper." [285])

It seems that they were not clear if Schliemann had done his job right. Had he realised that raffinate camphor in paper was more expensive, since one lost by the weight and volume of the paper. Did his clients know that he got less camphor in this way?

"We cancel the order of Mr. Poppe on 10 barrels of raffinate camphor, we however see that

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283) Gennadius Library no. 250

284) Gennadius Library No. 256

285) Gennadius Library no. 259

Nockladnoff keeps his standing until September if for 60 without paper. Even while its slow, in paper probably 57,5, there is little chance with this limit." [286])

It seems that Mr. Poppe had lost his interest in camphor. Reading between the lines I get the feeling that they weren't to unhappy with this in Amsterdam. Now I get the impression that there was a lot of camphor in paper for sale in Amsterdam, but no camphor without paper. This obviously had brought the price of this product down, but not enough. It was still more expensive than loose camphor. On August 4 they come with the price for loose camphor and it's clear that there is little hope that they will make any profit on it this time.

"We will not forget the order of Nokladnoff, without paper at the moment nothing below 67,5 to 70 for sale." [287])

And so there is camphor in paper to be had for 57,5, but with a loss of 15% and there is a client who wants to pay 60 without paper. It's clear, even unwrapping is useless, the camphor just cost more than this client is willing to pay. Amsterdam is unable to deliver.

"We received your honourable writing of August 2 and consider the order on raffinate camphor for the time being as cancelled, there is no change in it here." [288])

And so the article that had looked so promising in May disappeared from the letters in August. Neither Schliemann nor the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. had earned anything by it.

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[286]) Gennadius Library no. 270

[287]) Gennadius Library no. 286

[288]) Gennadius Library no. 293

The other is always wrong

Businessman rarely speak about there ethics and if they do they always like to place them in a favourable light. Contrary to this, non businessman generally are of the conviction that businessman don't have a morality above the money is money principle. This of course is highly charged, but since businessmen are not in the habit of talking about there ethnics, like many an intellectual, it's often hard to see were they draw the line. Since Schliemann and Schröder knew each other they did not have to write about the ways in which they did there trades. In the early stages of there cooperation however the firm of B.H. Schröder felt it self obliged to give Schliemann some advice and later on there were a number of deals in which things didn't work out in they way they had hoped in Amsterdam. In these letters we can see glimpses of how the firm of B.H. Schröder thought about its clients and what were there moral standards. Already in the third letter that Schliemann received they gave him some good advice.

"The 15 barrels of Madder that are of your disposal are small and good. You can however easily sell them for first quality. They cost f36, but it will not be necessary for you to sell under f37." [289])

So these barrels ain't first quality, but Schliemann should sell them as first quality. They look so good, that the clients won't know the difference. And so it's clear that the firm of B.H. Schröder saw no problem in pretending that things were better than they were as long as they had the feeling that they could get away with it. To get into the russian market they were ready to drop there profit for a little while and so they go on with there good advice.

"Would you not be able to sell for that [price] so you can go down to the purchase price, ..."

They don't mind losing there profit, but the clients should not know this. That would be dangerous for there future deals. These early loses were only meant to break into the marked and should later be earned back.

" ... and when you offer this lot chaper, a number of days later, it should be a new lot."

The technic is easily understandable. You offer a certain lot for a certain price. The client doesn't want it for that price, he wants to pay less. In that case you say no and go home. A couple of days latter you go back to the same firm, with the same lot, and make them believe that you have found them an other lot for a lower price. You have a sale and the client thinks that you have really worked in his best interest. This was the advice that Schröder gave Schliemann. How this in practise worked is to be seen in some other letters. A client had said yes to a lot and in that moment a cheaper lot appeared on the market.

"With tomorrow steamer we send you a bulk sample of 36 barrels 1842, 1843 cleaned which are for sale for f44, further more 8 barrels 1843 cleaned for f44 & 12 barrels red

289) Gennadius Library no. 68a

1844 cleaned for f30. Since these are some what cheaper than the last one, you should be careful with Malutin and not show it until the other 40 barrels are accepted and they still like to buy more, ..." [290])

It's clear that Schröder had an easy motto for such occasions, don't make the client wiser than he is.
As already mentioned, the correspondence between Schliemann and the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co., like we now have it, is highly incomplete and so it's often hard to establish what really happened. So it's impossible to say if the Malutin's became wiser or that there was something else wrong with the madder that they got. It's however clear that Schliemann, not long after he received above quoted letter, run into trouble with this firm. They were not satisfied with a lot of madder, that they had obtained. It seems that Schliemann solved this problem by giving them a discount without informing Amsterdam first. They clearly didn't like than in Amsterdam.

"Leaving the esteemed contents for what it is we now only answer on the Malutin Gebruder. It gets more and more clear that these have deceived us in a very mean way and if you have not promised them, which we almost have to fear, to take back the madder, that they did not like, up on reception, we can not understand how they dare to ask for a discount of 5%. When you were not able to make them understand, than there certainly would have been others there to judge, who could have protected our interests. We can not understand how a respectful man can refuse madder, that after samples was excepted, like the 30 barrels for Givago, the 36 barrels 1842 & 1843 and the largest part of the 162 barrels, especially since we have taken the samples our self. This answer can only be based on the receding conjuncture or on to large promises by you. What this last concerns we unfortunately find the statement of Mr. Plotnikoff confirmed, were we sure that this was not the case we would make the way in which Mr. M[alutin] works public and warn all our friends not to work with them. Why do they not give the Cochineal to us were we went above the limit, why do they keep the Tin & Bimas-wood, because with those it is better. Such a connection can not really serve us and were we sure that all trades to there were to be concluded in this way, so we would never again send anything. To day we write the same to Karakin and when he is of the opinion that Malutin does not have to pay us the full amount for the madder, we tread the payment of the 122 barrels as agreed, since it can not be to our advantage to take than back." [291])

They are very angry in Amsterdam. Something went wrong and they like to point the finger. There are only two possibilities, Malutin or Schliemann. It's impossible that anything was wrong with the quality that they have send. So it's either Malutin, who likes to get from under his commitment, since he is threatened to lose his profit, thanks to a drop in the market, or it is Schliemann who promised to much in his enthusiasm to make a deal. Now they are looking for some powerful man in St. Petersburg that is going to undo Schliemann's mistake and make sure that Malutin pays. It's clear that there is either something wrong with the madder or there is a general drop in the prices, cause they don't want it back. They seem to have no hope of selling it to someone else. It's clear that for Schröder the client is not really the king. They not only threaten Schliemann, by stating that they will stop the russian trade if they can't get things there way, they also threaten Malutin that they will cut him of the market, by warning there friends not to deal with them. However, it seems that in

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290) Gennadius Library no. 239

291) Gennadius Library no. 265

the end the Malutin's were in the right, or had, as to be expected, more power in St. Petersburg. Schröder had to give in.

"We affirm our last [letter] of the 14th and only state that if Malutin wants a discount on the madder, we consider it a deal in the way you have told us, since we absolutely do not want to take the madder back." [292])

The deal is closed. Unfortunately we don't know what Schliemann's answer has been, but his defence must have been good. He and Schröder are on one line again and it's clear that the Malutin's were the scoundrels.

"That the Madder that we have send was bad and that we gave 2 [quality] instead of 1 is a big lie." [293])

So now we finally know what the trouble was. The Malutin's were of the opinion that the Madder they had received was not of the quality they had bought. It now seems that the firm of B.H. Schröder is no longer of the opinion that Schliemann had promised to much, but there are no apologies and we can wonder if Schliemann ever asked for them. Looking at it in detail, like we have done here, it seems like a major conflict, but looking at it in the context of the letters it's only a small everyday skirmish as it happened a number of time. These skirmishes seem to have been an integrated part of the way in which the gentleman worked with each other and they never had any real consequences. The contacts between the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. and that of the firm of the Malutin Gebrüder went on like before as Schliemann and Schröder too stayed friends like before. There were more (unjust) attacks on Schliemann that year. It seems that there had been some trouble with a lot of Domingo blue-wood in March. Judging by the amsterdam answer Schliemann believed that they had send something else as he had ordered. It seems that he had complained and he got the following answer in return.

"We thank you for what you say about the Domingo blue-wood and are sad that we had this misunderstanding. That Domingo, like all other blue-wood is called campeche here is something you should know and so we have worked totally to your order and so the mistake is totally yours." [294])

This sounds somewhat strange. Domingo and Campeche both are blue-woods, but the idea that every blue wood was called campeche in Amsterdam is not logical. There were clear quality differences between the different kinds and they must have had a way to make this clear to there client or else they would have been in trouble with every deal they made. And yes it's clear from the letters that they made this difference.

"...[ask] if it is good that we take Domingo for 3,60; this looks, like Jamaica, not as strong and dark as Lima, which is the only difference." [295])

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292) Gennadius Library no. 266

293) Gennadius Library no. 325

294) Gennadius Library no. 133

295) Gennadius Library no. 133

If Domingo and Jamaica only on the outside differed from Lima is something that we won't go into. What is clear is that they clearly made a distinction between the different kinds and that not every blue-wood was called campeche in Amsterdam. There was an other reason why this can't have be true. Every kind had it's own price.

"Since you always write Campeche behind your orders for Domingo blue-wood, we have to take it that our friends want real Laguna or Havana Campeche, which however costs f5,25." [296])

So Domingo had to bring f3,60 and Laguna or Havana f5,25. Which such a price difference it's not to be expected that the clients didn't know the difference, however you could never know. As a PS Amsterdam gave the following information to Schliemann:

"... The Domingo blue-wood that we expect within 14 days is so beautiful & fresh that it in emergencies can be used as Campeche ..." [297])

So here too they clearly make a difference between Domingo and Campeche. From the above quotations it's clear that Schliemann and Schröder every now and then tried to sell the one for the other and in order to do this juggled with the names. That this again and again had to make for problems is clear, but it's also clear that the problem never originated in Amsterdam, but always with the other party.

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296) Gennadius Library no. 89

297) Gennadius Library no. 89

The Private letters of the Boss

The bulk of the Amsterdam letters were written by A. Prenzel even if most of them were signed by B.H. Schröder him self with his own or the company signature. Only on a few letters we find a small number of lines in this same hand at the end of the letter. There are also, from this year, seven letters that are totally written in this hand. Since all these letters show the personal signature of B.H. Schröder I take it that they were written by him, it is however also possible that they were written by his partner and signed in his name. Unfortunately this hand is very hard to read an on top of this comes that these letters are in a very bad condition. B.H. Schröder used a very thin paper and a lot of black ink and now the two sides are to be seen at the same time, which makes reading almost impossible and only with a lot of trouble I've been able to form my self some sort of global impression of there contents.
The first letter, that we still have, is dated March 12. The first 4 letters seems to have been normal business letter, that more or less gave the same information, that Schliemann had also received from A. Prenzel. The all go under the heading of "Dear Mr. Schliemann", were all other letters start with "Mr. Hy. Schliemann". Than we get a letter under the heading "Private". It's clear that Schröder has something special to say to Schliemann this time. I will come back to this letter. Next follows a second letter under the heading " Private" and this time he starts of with "Mr. H. Schliemann". It's clear that the relation has some what cooled of. After this the word privet was no longer used, but the start remains "Mr. H. Schliemann. Since these letters, as far is I can read them, do not give us any information that is not to be found in the letters from A. Prenzel, I would have put them a side if not Ernst Meyer had published part of one in his Schliemann Briefwechel. Since Meyer has only published this one part and nothing of the other letters it's contents has become totally out of context and so I'm forced to get it back in, so that we can see how we should read it. [298]). I'll give this letter here in it's totallyty as far as I was able to read it.

"Private

Amsterdam June 3, 1846

Mr. H. Schliemann, St. Petersburg.

We answer your last from May 21 with the confirmation of our last ... Our fears have unfortunately come true in the way that you use a tone in your correspondence, that normally is not used by any businessman and that we do not like to use. We acknowledge that you are not yet an experienced businessman, and think up projects and illusions, that are non fitting for a solid thinking businessman. You have the nerve to make us reproaches about the last auctions just because we were not mad enough .... (cause otherwise it would be impossible) to buy all the right campeche, about. 3000 cases, for russia, so that from these Plotnikoff .... for 1% commission for which ... an other six customers other wise have to give us 1%, could choose, so that the best would go to Russia. This would be the maddest deal in the

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298) Richter for instance concludes on the basis of this fragment, p. 11: "His mercantile methods and his temperamental behaviour must have been highly unusual, anyway they made -...- by the more careful an in closer, but surer, borders working owners of the Schröder firm, .., for a while for large excitement."

world. ... had all houses bought the biggest cases of indigo so that Mr. Plotnikoff could choose and leave us with the rest, that he does not like, for our own account. One can not expect such a thing from a commissioner and .... [I assure you?] that no solid house in the whole world lend it self to such a thing. Your remarks about our not buying of cochineal are just as absurd. The limit was 360, 365 and one payed 375, 380, ... and so why are limits given??? We have told you in the beginning and we have repeated it later on, do not promise to much and give no absurd assignments that are not to be kept by any sensible businessman. Further more we have to ask you not to write the law for us in your correspondence. We our self know what we have to do or not to do, you really talk about things that are far from fitting for you. Further more you consider your self to have an influence and power, of which we are absolutely not convinced, hope that you, with your irritatable character, will not be deceived by it. We honour your work and diligence completely and our interest in you makes us answer your letter.

The writer of this has the plan, when he is not hindered in it, to come to Russia in early September and we hope that his presence will help in the expansion, on a solid and sensible basis, of our business there. On the account of our business with there we will ... we like to earn 1% only on the .... and since the costs are so high ... [it is impossible] to pay 5 or 6% commission. Don't you believe that we do not know the commission business, we knew it already ... [four totally unreadable lines]

The diamond consignation too will probably come to nothing, we can not buy for the mentioned price while you seem to think that you can make money with it and fantasize of a great future, that however, just as with those other ideas exists only in your fantasy

We see that you ... [three lines totally unreadable]

With friendly greetings and please read this letter as it is written, from friendly interest in your well being.

respectfully, B.H. Schröder." [299])

It's clear that B.H. Schröder wasn't happy with Schliemann when he wrote this letter, it, however, is also clear that this unhappiness didn't find its reason in a general held feeling, but in a special project on which both gentleman differed of opinion. A deal that somehow had gone bad. Plotnikoff was one of the partners in the firm of Malutin Gebrüder and already in the last chapter we have seen that there was some tension between the two firms. The Malutins were an important client of the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co., but they were hard to please and liked to play them against other houses. By the size of there orders they formed the main part of Schliemann's income. When Schröder couldn't execute a Malutin order that they had obtained through Schliemann, than Schliemann immediately felt this in his income. And so it's clear that Schliemann wanted the Amsterdam firm to give the Malutin's and Plotnikoff what ever they wanted. The more they took, the more he earned. The Amsterdam firm however had more clients to think of and understandably didn't want to put everything on one cart. There was a clear difference of interest between Schliemann and Schröder. Since we do not have Schliemann's letters, we do not know how impolite he really had been, but Mr. Schröders description of his " irritatable character" must certainly be right. In later live he often left prove of this. It's clear that there must have been some frustration on both sides. What really was going on we can see in a letter of A. Prenzel of Mai 19.

"Cochineal. When you take the order from 77 cases for the Malutin Gebr. which were limited on 360, and consider that these already on arrival were soled for 370 and when you further more consider that the later arrived small lot went for 375 even if they were dusty and not really large grained and so not to be considered for this order, than it is impossible to speak

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299) Gennadius Library no 211

about negligence from our side; no we are conscious that we took more for them than any of our competitors, while the bought 25 cases for 380 are of a relatively higher quality and so some what cheaper. Explain this to M[alutin] and there can not be any unpleasantness between us." [300])

If it comes to the diamonds it's not so strange as it looks at first sight. It might be that B.H. Schröder did not believe in a diamond deal on June 3, or that Schliemann's proposal at this moment really had some flaws, but that was not caused by the product diamonds. On July 26 B.H. Schröder him self came with a proposal for a deal in diamonds. [301]) So we can be sure that there were possibilities for this product in Russia and that they existed not only in Schliemann's imagination. That the whole affair was no more than a storm in a glass of water becomes clear if we look at the next personal letter that Schliemann got from B.H. Schröder. It is dated June 9 and from the enclosed letter of A. Prenzel who answered a letter that Schliemann had written on Mai 30. It seems that Schliemann had not yet answered on B.H. Schröders angry letter, but that his ton has changed anyway.

"... we notice to our pleasure that you in your last letter use a pleasant ton. Everything goes so mutch better when one changes its views plasantly." [302])

The rest of the letter is used to explain again why they had not been able to buy the cochineal that Schliemann had ordered and Mr. Schröder closes of his letter with telling Schliemann that he always likes to do business with St. Petersburg and that he is planning to come to this city to help Schliemann bring his contacts on a solid basis. The problem is passed, the emotions are gone and the two gentleman go on making money and representing each others interests.

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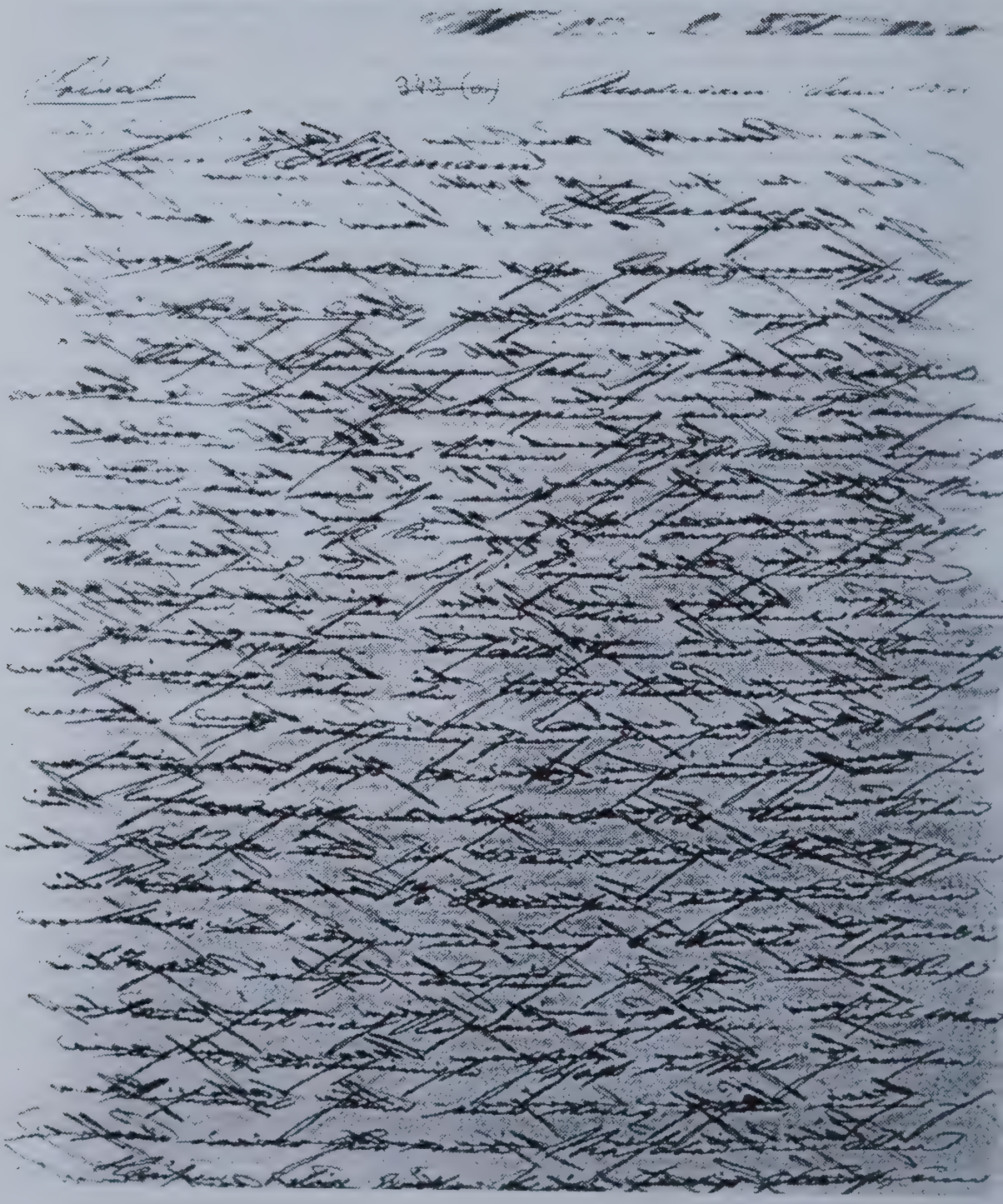
300) Gennadius Library no. 190

301) Gennadius Library no. 274

302) Gennadius Library 218a



What Schliemann earned in 1846

"... as long as my fortune was below 200,000 frs. (£8000). I never gave credit except to merchants of the very first standing. Thus I had to content myself at first with very small profits, but my business was a perfectly safe one." [303])

When biographers speak of Schliemann's russian years they mainly speak about St. Petersburg. Schliemann him self however told us that he after arrival in Petersburg, almost immediately, travelled on to Moscow.

"I arrived here in St. Petersburg for the first time on the 39th January, 1846 and 7 days afterwards I went to Moscow. ... In 1846 I was 4 times on business in Moscow." [304])

From the amsterdam letters too it becomes clear that Moscow was probably more important to Schliemann than St. Petersburg. During his first russian year anyway. Already in the first half year he made three trips to this city. We can be sure that he was there on February 21, on March 26 and on May 4. It's also clear that he was there in September 1846. Why did Schliemann so often travel to this city? From the Amsterdam letters we can make a list of Schliemann's most important clients and that immediately gives us an answer. Basically we find that he had four major clients that again and again, for large amounts, ordered through him.

Wladimir Alexejeff of St. Petersburg
Malutin Gebrüder of Moscow
Serge Givago of Moscow
P.S. Alexejeff of Moscow

They all had connections with both cities, but these are the cities that are mentioned on there invoices and so this are probably the cities were there headquarters were. So we can take that the majority had it's base in Moscow. This is quite understandable since Schliemann probably had not to much elbow room in St Petersburg since he was, through Schröder, also related to Alex Mahs & Co. and so could not go after there clients. Moscow is so often mentioned in these letters that, if all these letters had not been addressed to St. Petersburg, one would believe that Schliemann was based in that city and every now and than went to St. Petersburg. Travelling has never been cheap and to up keep your clients from such a distance must have cost him something extra. When however we give these Moscow clients a closer look we soon find out that this money was not spend for nothing. They were responsible for the largest part of Schliemann's turn over. Looking at those numbers I can't be feel that already his first year must have been very rewording for him. Not only was he able to travel up and down to Moscow, by the end of the year he was able to allow him self a longer european trip. Schliemann had arrived in Russia in January and already in September he left it again for a three month trip. In the month that lie between these to dates he must have earned the money that enabled him to make this second trip. Unfortunately we don't have Schliemann's

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303) Ilios p. 12

304) Webber pp. 11-12

cash-book for this year and so it's impossible to find out exactly what he earned. I however will try to make an estimation by what we can read in the amsterdam letters. Most of the letters of the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co, speak of the possible purchase prices and only rarely they speak about what was really payed. There are however a small number of letters that are concerned with account settlements. With a little care and a lot of question marks we can obtain a global picture out of these, In total there are account settlements for nine firms. Of 4 the amounts are mentioned in the letters and of five there are copies of the actual settlement letters. It's clear that the accounts of a good number of clients are missing and that those that are still there are not about all that was bought by these clients. There is talk of a whole lot of other transactions that seem to have come to a good end, but of those we have no calculations. When we try to figure out what the end resold of all mentioned deals was we have a rather large chance that the end amount will be to high since some seem to have run on into 1847. Even while the number of accounts, of which we have the actual amounts, is clearly smaller than what really went around I will limit my self to those.

26/3/1846	4 bills, in total	215,04	commission
15/5	4 bills	67,94	
15/5	5 bills	322,48	
29/5	6 bills	696,37	
3/6	2 bils	98,06	
9/6	1 bill	40,89	
16/6	1 bill	103,00	
10/7	1 bill	129,80	
21/7	1 bill	56,67	
		1730,25 [305]	

Now we take as a rough estimate for the not specified deals a commission of 269,75. In this way Schliemann earned from the firm of B.H. Schröder & Co. alone f2000,-. But this was not the only firm through whom Schliemann did his business and from whom he got 1% commission on all his executed orders. I've not studied the correspondence with those other companies in detail, but I've read the better part of them. Let's for instance take the Schröder firms in Le Havre and Bremen. The number of letters that we still have of these firms is notable smaller than those from Amsterdam, but the collection of letters from the Schröder Gebrüder in Hamburg is about the same. With a few examples I like to show that with those firms it too went for large amounts.

Schröder Le Havre:
"...
por W. Pieter Aleaceff
à 20 Sac de Gomme du Senegal bas du fleuve, montant à 3973,75
13 Futs Rocou du Cayenne 2657,70
746 buches bois de Campeche coup d' espagne 5417,70
12047,15
et pour Malutin freres
à 10 Futs Rocou de cayenne montant à 2611,95" [306]

We have to note that this bill is, contrary to those from Amsterdam, in french francs and so

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305) Gennadius Library no. 112, 181, 181b, 205, 210, 218, 229, 261, 270.

306) Gennadius Library no.184

can't be compared to the others without recalculating. The same thing holds for the amounts mentioned in the letters of the Schröder Gebrüder of Hamburg, those are in marks.

"Facture für hernn Pieter Semenowitsch Aleksyeff
554 Säcke Chili Salpeter 9642,80 [307])
Facture für herrn Malutin Gebruder Moscau
673 Säcke Chili Salpeter 28743,12 [308])
Facture für herrn W. Alexceff in Moscau
2 fahser enthaltend 9 Barren Silber 30282,10" [309])

I've not tried to make at total calculation for any of these firms and so it has no use to recalculate the mentioned amounts to guilders. I've used these examples only to show that Schliemann had a substantial income next to the commission that he got from Amsterdam. When I make a save estimation I'm sure that we can take that the other firms together at least brought him as much as the amsterdam firm, which would bring his income for 1846 to f4000. This is absolutely a save estimation and it's highly possible that Schliemann earned more in this year. [310]) That Schliemann really belonged to the better earning part of society is also clear from the credit letter that the amsterdam firm wrote out for him on the london firm. One hundred pound Sterling was 1200 guilder and I would be highly surprised if they wrote out such kind of credit letters if they weren't sure that they got there money back. This letter of credit shows doubtlessly that Schliemann was good for it, especially since they knew that he would spend it to pay for his expenses on a trip.

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307) Gennadius Library no. 149a. There seems to have been a general transcription problem with the name of Alexceff. B.H. Schröder wrote it in two different ways, Alexceff and Alexejeff. In Le Havre they wrote Aléaceff and in Hamburg they wrote Aleksyeff. In his travel journal Schliemann wrote Alexeiff.

308) Gennadius Library no. 174j

309) Gennadius Library no. 174

310) Ludwig p. 75. "... already the first russian year he earned 7500 guilder by Schroeder alone on a commission of 0,5%, which means that he had mediated a turn over of 1,5 million for them ..." I have no idea were Ludwig found his figures, but it is clear that Schliemann, in 1846, worked for a commission of 1%.

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Invoice of 44 Boxes Java Indigo, shipped on board the Ship Ann Mc Neal Master for St Petersburg for account & risk of Messrs P. J. Ponomareff of St Petersburg

44 Boxes Java Indigo			
13/16 No. 4 Chests N 12			
Gross 636 ℔ Tare 152 ℔			
Nett 484 ℔			
Sample 2 .	484 ℔ . 315 ℆		3061 80
14/19 9 Boxes N 4			
Gross 999 ℔ Tare 146 ℔			
Nett 852 ℔			
Sample 4 .	357 ℔ . 325 ℆		2320 50.
17/28 12 Boxes N 17			
Gross 1861 ℔ Tare 138 ℔			
Nett 1437 ℔			
Sample 6 .	479 ℔ . 325 ℆		3116 75
129/165 7 Boxes N 11			
Gross 3745 ℔ Tare 1321 ℔			
Nett 2424 ℔			
Sample 12 .	2425 ℔ . 330 ℆		1620 30.
49/80 12 Boxes N 18			
Gross 660 ℔ Tare 188 ℔			
Nett 4711 ℔			
Sample 6 "	4771 ℔ 330 ℆		3157 50.
			13240 85
		12	132 41.
		22	13138 14
			262 76.
		12	12875 38.
			129 75
			13146 63
		for Cash 1% 2	191 20.
		Insurance 12	12955 43
			127 47
			12682 90

Charges.

Passing, casing, expenses, marking & weighing	99.60	
Entry & clearing	9.20	
Lighterage & Loading	14.30	
Stall Carting, Shallops & petties	26.70	140 00
		12852 90
Insurance of £14600. — incl 2 ins Profit 12 £ 146. —		
Policy 130		147 50
Commission 2%		12980 30
		259 61
E. E.		13240 —

Amsterdam 9 July 1846.

About some very unpleasant business.

Schliemann started his European journey on September 27 in Moscow. He travelled first to St. Petersburg, from were he started off on a boot. After he had arrived in this city he still had on deal he wanted to finish.

"Next I went to M[alutin] who received me very politely. I found him while he was having his tea, of which he offered me a cup, which I refused under the pretext that I only drank coffee. I presented him with the letter, that I had received from his brother in M[oscow]. I tried to get M[alutin] so far as to concur with me on the unpleasant business of the St. Martens-wood, that he had refused. I did not succeed and found it hard to tell him that I, after my return to Russia, in the month of January, would send the lot to M[oscow] so that his brother could make the decision if he wanted to take the lot or refuse it." 311)

What was this problem and why did he did he give it a last try just before he left? Again there were some problems between the Malutin Gebrüber and the firm of B.H Schröder & Co. This time about a lot of St. Martens-wood. In March the Schröders saw how one of there competitors bought a lot of St. Martens-wood for Russia. If they have a client for it than we should also have client for it and so they point out the possibility to Schliemann.

"St Martens-wood. The last soled shipment are 140 case bought by G&Co., doubtlessly for your place. In May we expect a similar shipment, please find us orders for it. This wood is normally very powerful and has little splinters. The pieces weight 10 to 15 kilo and have round heads." 312)

After a little thought the amsterdam firm even knew a client for Schliemann and so they wrote him again the next day. The sales talk plus the client are delivered and all Schliemann has to do is get him to order.

"A further description of the St Martens-wood of which we wrote yesterday. It is for dying red like Lima, even if it does not give the same dark red as this but some thing more lively, it is used for the same purpose. Make sure that Mr. Malutin authorises us to buy from the awaited shipment." 313)

If Schliemann really got an order or not is some what unclear, but from the continuation of this story I get the feeling that he did, even while the time lapse between this and the next letter is almost to short for an answer to have reached Amsterdam and so it is also possible that Amsterdam took a bet on Schliemann's success. On March 21 they report that the awaited St. Martens-wood has arrived. Noticeable is that they report this to Schliemann

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311) Journaal p. 10

312) Gennadius Library no. 88

313) Gennadius Library no. 89

before they actually have seen it. So Schliemann is expected to sell something that they do not yet have and of which they don't know the quality.

"34 cases of St Martens-wood since yesterday before the city, when the quality is good we will immediately buy." [314])

As a kind of PS they tell Schliemann that they already have spoken with the owner, but that they not jet know what he will ask for it. How Schliemann, under those circumstances, was able to obtain an order is unclear to me. It's even unclear if Schliemann really had an order from the Malutin's. There is no confirmation in the amsterdam letters. What ever, they bought, but they kept, as usual, there back door open.

"We were able to buy for the Malutin Gebr. 44 case of St Martens-wood for f9,20 under the proviso that the quality proves good after unloading." [315])

And so they have already more or less bought this lot before it's unloaded and so they still have no real idea of the quality. This probably was there only change. When we can believe the letters than we have to conclude that St. Martens-wood was rather rare at that moment. The next day they write to Schliemann about an order for P.S. Alexejeff.

"... we have to rewrite your order for St. Martens-wood & Domingo blue-wood to Le Havre since there is no stock of the first at this moment." [316])

This was part of a larger order that they could execute as a whole except for the two above mentioned woods. They had no hope that they within the for seeable future would be able to obtain these two products and so they past it on in the family. So now we can wonder why they didn't use the lot that still had to be unloaded. We should almost believe that this lot was already soled, or maybe they believed that it's quality wasn't good enough for Alexejeff? It also can be that Schliemann had brought in an extensive order and that the lot they had just bought was not big enough.

"Nothing new in woods. The rest of the St. Martens-wood that we bought for M[alutin] has arrived and will be able to see it one of these days." [317])

So the rest of the order again was bought blindly and before they had any idea about the quality. It even looks as if they didn't have a back door this time. They had bought it period. Now they have the quantity and can deliver Malutin the amount that he is looking for. They no longer talk about quality. On May 15 they send a copy of a bill for Malutin on which we find, among others, this lot of St. Martens-wood. [318]) The order for Alexejeff however is still unfulfillable. It seems that Le Havre too was unable to find these two woods and had send the order back to Amsterdam. On May 19. they again write about it.

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314) Gennadius Library no. 104

315) Gennadius Library no. 110

316) Gennadius Library no. 112

317) Gennadius Library no. 147

318) Gennadius Library no.181

"We keep the order of Mr. Peter Alexceff for St Martens and bimas wood in mind. Of both nothing has arrived since the last time we bought, we however expect daily new arrival of which we, if possible, will buy." [319])

There is no St. Martens-wood on the market, I almost get the feeling that the two lots they had bought was all that was brought to Amsterdam in those days. It seems that Malutin had been pretty lucky to get what he wanted. On June 9 there still had come no St. Martens-wood on the market. The order for Alexejeff has become impossible to execute.

"... annulate all outstanding orders on St. Martens-wood, ..." [320])

It's clear that this is just not the right time of year to deal in St. Martens-wood. The order for Malutin is by now shipped on to Russia and they are awaiting payment. On June 30 they suddenly get a jolt.

"How the Malutin Gebrüder are able not to accept the St. Martens-wood is unexplainable to us since it is as good as it can be. We bid you under, no circumstances, to take it back ..." [321])

How is it possible, the Malutin's don't want it, but soled is soled. Schröder doesn't want it back. This is remarkable. There is no St Martens-wood on the market and they have a potential other buyer in Russia, but they don't want it back. It would probably not have cost them to much shipping coast to send it on to Alexejeff, but they not even think about it. Would it not have been good enough for Alexejeff? Schliemann gets clear orders, he should make sure that Malutin accepts.

"what concerns the St Martens-wood we have to repeat our last instructions and expect that the Malutin Gebr. will no longer refuse to except after you have told them clearly how we think about it. This wood is of the same quality as the other lot that was send to your place, but that shipment was damp and damaged and so probably looked better." [322])

Here I'm somewhat at a los with the argumentation and I wonder how Schliemann would tell the Malutin's that this lot was as good as that what was delivered by his competitors, but that the other lot had looked better while it was worse. The answer of the Malutin Gebrüber probably tells us more about the quality of the St. Martens-wood than of the qualities of Schliemann's salesmanship. This time they didn't ask for a discount, they just didn't want it.

"St Martens-wood. Since you write us that the Malutin Gebr, under no circumstances want to keep this lot and that thanks to there mean character there is nothing more to do, you have to find us, as soon as possible, an other buyer, but not under f9 since that is cheap and the

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319) Gennadius Library no. 190

320) Gennadius Library no. 218

321) Gennadius Library no. 250

322) Gennadius Library no. 256.

other lots do more and for the time being it is impossible to think of lowering it." [323])

One week later they loose all hope in Amsterdam that they will find something for Alexejeff and now they finally come with the idea that the lot, that is refused by Malutin, could be used to fill out this order.

" ... we soon hope to hear from you concerning the sale of the St Martens-wood. As we already earlier remarked we have no expectations for the order of 500 pond for P.S. Alexceff of f9,5. These could make a good deal with our lot that is at your place." [324])

It seems that Alexceff too didn't want this lot. Schliemann keeps on looking for a client, but without the success that he wants. Maybe there was not much want for this product or maybe there really was something wrong with this lot. He can only sell it with a loss and that's not what he wants. A loss is no income to Schliemann and so he keeps on trying. He just doesn't want to accept the first offer he gets.

"St Martens-wood. We completely agree with you that you can not sell under the purchase price and do not doubt a moment that in not to long a time you will find a buyer, since there is nothing here to send." [325])

By now Schröder is ready to sell for the purchase price. No profit no loss. This time Schliemann has the better hand in the deal. He has no money in this deal and so he can hold on. In Amsterdam they are already loosing on it, if only by the loss of interest. They like to get rid of it as fast as possible.

"Concerning the sale of the St. Petersburg St Martens-wood please find us as soon as possible and as good as possible a client. We do not mind if you go down a little, but ask you to keep our interests in mind." [326])

And so Schliemann gave it one more try, before he went on his european trip, and failed. Since I've only studied the business letters for 1846 I don't know what in the end happened to this lot. [327])

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323) Gennadius Library no. 270

324) Gennadius Library no. 286

325) Gennadius Library no. 304

326) Gennadius Library no. 357

327) It seems that these kind of problems were not unusual. The firm of Determeyer Weslingh & Zn. too had this kind of problems. Jonker p. 208. "The commodity speculations seem to have been just that, hit-and-miss affairs in which some items sold very well, some were realised at a loss or written off quickly, and some remained on the books until rotten, like the 10.000 guilders worth of timber sent to London in 1828 and still there in January 1844, or the 12.000 guilders of tobacco lying in St. Petersburg from 1833 and largely unsold for eight years."

Without having seen the Queen our her spouce, Prince Albert

"A continuous diary of his European trip, 27 September 1846 - 15 February 1847, written on 295 pages. The pages have been numbered in pencil by Meyer, At p. 290 there are 28 sheets which have been cut out. The stubs show that the 56 missing sides had all been written on either in ink or in pencil." [328]) Schliemann used three languages while writing this journal. English: pp. 1-8, 14-29 and 65-121, French: pp. 9-13, 29-65, 122-172 and 175-295 and Italian: pp. 172-175. I give the English pages as Schliemann wrote them minus the many corrections that he made him self. The other pages are translations by me in which I've tried to keep the voice of Schliemann as much as it was.

<1> 27 Sept[em]ber 1846
In the morning at twelve o'clock I left the family A[lexceff] with whom I had lived for seven days. Agreeably to the custom of the country they gave me a bread on the road. The son of the house accompanied me to the postoffice. The extraordinary post started at one o'clock, I occqpied [occupied] a fore place, which mr. A[lexceff] had taken for me already long before at my request. To leave a family in the circle of which I had enjoyed so many a joyfullhour, a family to whom I bear the most sincere affection and whom I esteem above any thing in
<2> the world, appeared to me more heavy then I imagined. By dint of the extreme swiftness of the russian horses we soon lost sight of the beautiful city Moscow. The weather was extremely fine and the sun which with its golden rays (beams) continually brightened through the windows of the post carriage prophesied us a fortunate journey. My fellow passenger was the clerk of Mr. Gytskoff, possessor of the most eminent manyfacury [manufactory] at Moscow, and who himself occupied two places in the interior of the carriage. I was happy to get acquainted with Mr. G[ytskoff] whose interesting
<3> conversation I was very much pleased with. The two beck places of the carriage were occqupied [occupied] by a german, his wife and child. The villages on the road from M[oscow] to P[etersburg] present a miserable aspect; they consist of wood covered with cane and straw; on account of the humid ground the houses are usually occupied only in the upper story, whilst the first story is serving as a stable or depository of domestical [domestic] goods. The rough hewn buildings form a strange contrast against the good character of the inhabitants, who accustomed
<4> as they are to simplicity of manners and habits, don't know that temperance is the greatest virtue. In consequence of the immense communication between the two metropolises [329]) St. P[etersburg] and M[oscow], the inhabitants are for the most part posthorse keepers

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328) Easton, D.F.; The Schliemann Papers. Annual of the British School at Athens. Voll 77. 1982. pp. 93-110.

329) Originally Moscow was the capital of Russia. In 1712 Peter the Great made St. Petersburg to his capital. Moscow however kept a central roll and so this country got, in the everyday practise, two capitals. The cultural life in these two cities was quite different. Lincoln pp. 255-256. "Given the fact that the Russian ruler and Court of St. Petersburg

and drivers. From the coach men can be perceived that not always the clothes make the man, for in spite of the bad attiral [attire] of the russian coachmen, they know their work very well, they are guiding their horses more with word than with the whip. The post carriages are constructed and arranged
<5> in a very singular manner. The interior of the carriage is divided in two or three parts of which every one is occupied by only two persons, and therefore you are shut up with the very same passenger for the lapse of many days together. The russian government is actually busily engaged in constructing a rail road between the two capitals 330). I feel assured, that in no part of the world there can be encountered more obstacles in accomplishing a rail road than in Russia and particularly on that part of the line which passes the
<6> Voldai mountains; many a mountain is to be cut through, many an abyss is to be filled up, and many a bridge is to be made over tremendous streams. The line between p[etersburg] and M[oscow] is certainly the longes[t] in the world; in accomplishing this masterwork the Russians show how much man can perform, when he earnestly desires when he has confidence in him self and in the assistance of the Allmighty. It is as jet a matter of difficulty to stake whether the railroad will be calculated to bring advantage to
<7> the city of Moscow. I am of opinion, that the great facility of the communications between the two capitals must prove greatly to the improvement of the russian commerce, in as much as goods, which now must remain about eighteen days on the road at a dear freight, can in future be carried with the greatest quickness to the place of their destination. It having become public, that the emperor would in short favo[u]r us with his visit, every possible means were resorted to and measures had been taken to improve the road. In

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were the foremost proponents and devotees of Western culture during most of the eighteenth century, one might expect that the St. Petersburg aristocracy would be even more involved with Western ideas than that of Moscow in the early nineteenth century. The reverse was the case because the St. Petersburg nobles' intrest in Western ideas was very superficial. ... In Moscow, on the other hand educated society took Western ideas more seriously. They were not simply discussed in polite conversation, but were grappled with, picked apart, analysed and, when accepted, were adopted as the result of deep intellectual conviction."

330) Lincoln p. 186 "Not until 1835, in discussions of proposals made by the Austrian engineer Franz Anton Ritter von Gerstner, did the question of constructing railways first receive serious consideration in high government circles in Russia. Kankrin [chief expert on economic issues] was totally and stubbornly opposed to railways on the ground that they were expensive and that they would weaken the moral fibre of Russian society, but Nicholas saw in them a military potential, ... Only in 1842 did Nicholas approve the construction of the first major railway within Russian itself: a line to connect the Empire's two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow; and the project was completed only after considerable difficulty and nearly a decade of labour." Narbeth, Colin/ Hendy, Robin / Stocker, Christopher; Historische bankbiljetten en aandelen. 1979. p. 23."In 1842 the St. Petersburg-Moscow project was announced, in which the Czar was willing to invest 34 million Ruble. Major George W. Whistler, an american engineer, who had already constructed a number of rail roads in the US, was asked to come to Russia to take the supervision of the project. It is said that the Czar only once has occupied him self with this line. He took a ruler and made a strait line on the map. He seems to have said 'this is the route'. In fact the line between Moscow and St. Petersburg is one of the straightest in the world, but this is mainly thanks to the flat terrain which is only broken by the Valdai-mountains. The workers were contingents of serves and polish prisoners of war, who were captured during the rising of 1831. Thousands dyed on scorbutic, cholera and typhous, sicknesses that ran rampart through the labour camps along the route. ... This route was completed in 1851"

consequence of the
<8> advanced season, the nights were very cold the more so, as I was occypying [occupying] a foreplace and the wind was blowing continually in our face; my cloak; how thick so ever it may be afford little shelter against the incalamities [calamities] of the season Towards the evening of the second day we met the emperor [331]), who like one of his generals riding before him, wore a white cap. Prevented as well by the duskishness [duskiness] of the evening as by the extreme speed of the emperors horses, I hardly succeeded in getting a glance of him. Besides that event

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331) Nicholas I (1796-1855). Lincoln p. 9 "Perhaps no ruler left more of an impression upon nineteenth-century Russia than did the Emperor Nicholas I, for the origins of nearly every major change or event during the last century of Romanov rule can be traced to his reign. Certainly Nicholas was an imposing figure. Many Russians admired, even venerated him; others saw him as the personification of oppression. But none who lived during his thirty-year reign could remain indifferent to the force of his personality and the system which he developed." After his visit to England, in 1844, queen Victoria wrote the following to king Leopold of Belgium. Lincoln p. 223. "He is stern and severe- with fixed principles of duty which nothing on earth will make him change; very clever I do not think him, and his mind is an uncivilized one; his education has been neglected; politics and military concerns are the only things he takes great interest in; the arts and all softer occupations he is insensible to, but he is sincere, I am certain, sincere even in his most despotic acts, from a sense that that is the only way to govern."

<9> nothing deserving attention and arrived at St. P[etersburg]

At my arrival in St. Petersburg I made hotel Tangi, on the Guillaum island [332]), my house. I had a dirty room, that made a large contrast with the fine shelter I had in Moscow. After I had installed my self in my shelter, my first occupation was to bring a parcel of 105/m for P[eter] A[lexceff], which I had received from Messrs. N. in M[oscow], to there agent K. in S[t.] P[etersburg]. Since he was not at home I left it with a servant. I made the servant give me a receipt, since I was somewhat afraid. Next I went to M[alutin] who
<10> received me very politely. I found him while he was having his tea of which he offered me a cup, which I refused under the pretext that I only drank coffee. I presented him with the letter, that I had received for him from his brother in M[oscow]. I tried to get M[alutin] so far as to concur with me on the unpleasant business of the St. Martens-wood, that he had refused. I did not succeed and found it hard to tell him that I after my return to Russia, in the month of January, would send the lot to M[oscow] so that
<11> his brother could make the decision if he wanted to take the lot or refuse it. After that I went to P[oppe] [333]), we gave me a number of letters received from abroad. I was surprise by the sudden want of Indigo dye in Holland [334]). I regret this even more while, thanks to the raise in price, Mr Sch[röder] was unable to execute all the orders, for the public sale of Indigo, that I had send him. The russian manufacturers more and more recognize the large advantages, that the experience by the use of Java Indigo dye
<12> and consequently the use in this land has risen. This is the only reason why the prices have risen so much during the last sale. On the day of arrival I immediately communicated the results of the public sale to my friends in M[oscow] and at the same time I took the opportunity to thank the family in M[oscow] for there kindness during my stay in M[oscow].
<13> At September 30 I hurried in all possible ways to arrange for my passport. With a carriage I went to the office of the steamboat [335]) company to obtain passage on the steamboat to Lübeck. One wanted to see my passport there. They declared that it was worthless before it was registered and stamped by the customs, but to do that it was necessary that I went to the office of the governor general as to obtain the necessary particulars. I succeeded
<14> to arrange everything to my wishes and after that went a new to the office of the steamboat, were I reserved my passage.

On change I took leave of several of my russian friends, who wished me a happy voyage and a safe return to their beautiful country. The chief of the house M[ahs] to whom I had addressed a part of my foreign correspondence told me that I was owing him for several postages fourty [forty] five Rubles, which I was astonished and much vexed to hear, for I felt quite assured that I had paid off

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332) Schliemann probably meant "Wasil'yevsky Osroy". The island on which one also finds the exchange. Most of the foreignesr in St. Petersburg lived on this island.

333) Heinrich Poppe. At first all letters from Amsterdam were addressed to Alexander Mahs & Co. After June 3 they are addressed to Heinrich Poppe. Up on Schliemann's return to Russia the last amsterdam letter, of this year, was send to Moscow.

334) Gennadius Library no. 330. "Amsterdam September 26. ... send you to day the prices of the Indigo auction from which you will see that the prices went reasonably high. In how far we can execute your orders we will write tomorrow, ..."

335) Here Schliemann used twice the word "pyroscaphes" were he elsewhere always uses the word "bateau à vapeur". This word was probably used in St. Petersburg specifically for this office.

<15> my debt long since. Though I am fully assured, that the miserable miser cheats me, yet i find myself under the disagreeable necessity of paying him a second time. F[roloff] & T[umenkoff] made me the remark, that the facilities we afforded to M[alutin]'s agent in choosing from our purchases Indigo those parcels, which he thought cheapest and best, would in all probability spoil us the russian trade [336]), for our proceeding in this summer towards our commercial connections we did not
<16> at all justify the confidence relied upon us. I employed all my eloquence in order to convince my friends that my Amsterdam establishment were operating with all possible care and attention in the behalf of those who trusted their interest to our care and succeeded at least in prevailing upon them to add faith to my assurances.
On the 1st October I made the requisite preparations for my departure. Bearing in mind, that in England and France every thing belonging
<17> to wearing apparel can be had at a much cheaper rate than in Russia, and wishing to avail myself of this advantage in favour of my purse, I provided myself only with a small quantity of clothes, leaving my other goods here for a later opportunity. All goods which I thought superfluous for my travel, I left at a friend's, requesting his wife to see for me my best teakettle and many little things of small value. How small soever the net proceeds may be in them selves, they
<18> will I think surpass half their original value. Having settled the small amount due to the landlord of the hotel in which I had lived since my return from Moscow, I got my trunks carried to steamers office whither I went a foot. On the steamer I was told, that it did not start before three o'clock, and having therefore still three hours at my disposal, I employed the time for the purpose of buying a travelling Journal. At half past two o clock I was again on the steamer, where
<19> my fellow passengers were gradually assembling, together with their friends and relations, who accompanied them in order to wish them the last farewell. My occypations [occupations] being quite different of those of other people, and seeing the impossibility of contracting friendships in my actual position of life, I took to avoid societies and other public houses calculated to offer too frequent opportunities of getting acquainted with other young people [337])
<20> Consequently there upon where as every one of the other passengers was accompanied by a great many friends to me there came only Mr. P[oppe] with his wife, under whose salutations and waving with hands and handkerchiefs our steamer went away precisely at three o clock. The weather was as beautifull as possible and the sun, with favo[u]red us with its brilliant beams, seemed to prognosticate us a happy and successful voyage. With great swiftness we went
<21> along the river side and arrived at Croonstadt [338]) at abt. 6 o clock. The steamer stopped at the principal bridge's side in order to sett off those passengers who wished to remain at Cronstadt here after she proceeded to the Lübeck steamer called Stactngseuk [?] where we other passengers went off to take our respective places. Passengers in the first cabin were in the number of 9, vizt [?] four english men two english ladies, a german

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336) Gennadius Library 331. "September 29. ... we like to tell you that Mr. Plotnikoff has taken all we had bought for Russia and probably will not return anything and so the other friends have to wait until [the] Rotterdam [auction]. Please tell Mr. Froloff & Tumenkoff and Ponimoreff that we will sell to them what we buy at the Rotterdam auction."

337) In 1842 Schliemann tooled his sisters about Amsterdam, Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 32. "Here one can only make friends in coffee houses, and since I never visited such a place, I have non and live totally isolated."

338) Kronstadt, located on Kotlin island in front of St. Petersburg.

resident of Moscow and I. In the second cabin
<22> was an old english seaman and a dutch captain, who of late had lost his vessel and returned now homeward with his family consisting in his wife and two little children. The first cabin consisted of two rooms one of which served for a place of general resort during the day, whilst [while] the other constituted a comfortable sleeping apartment. The bedsteads were arranged along the walls and one above an other. No sooner had we entered the cabbin [cabin] and marked the beds assigned to
<23> us, as a well prepared diner of five dishes was served and two hours afterwards a comfortable supper. On the 2 October in the morning at four o clock I was roused from my sleep by the noise caused by the winding up of the anchor-chain and soon afterwards the rushing of the water moved by the rows of the steamer [339]) announced to me our departure from Cronstadt. I got up at 6 o' clock; in getting on deck C[ronstadt] had almost escaped already the reach of sight
<24> The weather was very fine, no cloud could be seen on the clear sky and a fresh breeze from the east lifting our sails prognosticated us a pleasant and successfull [successful] passage. I dit not at all feel sick and was able to breakfast with my usual apatite [appetite]. Hardly afterwards however the horrible symptoms of the seasickness presented themselves, and during some hours I was tourmented [tormented] by awfull [awful] headake [headache] and continual vomiting. The seasickness is certainly
<25> one of the most disagreeable imaginable. The disease after having emptied the stomach it causes the bile to go away in large green lumps. Besides some bullion, which I got down with great difficulty, I was not able to eat anything during the whole day, and keeping myself continually upon deck I passed the time by walking and pondering upon the past adventures To my great astonishment, among all the other passengers, there was none, who was inflicted by the
<26> seasickness besides the two ladies, who unaccustomed as they were to the motions of the steamer, were alternatively sitting and lying upon deck. The wind went gradually round and blew to wards noon quit from the opposite side; we were consequently compelled to drag in all our sails. Not withstanding however we went with an extreme speed and made from 7,75 to 8,5 knots in an hour. Judging from the increasing motions of the steamer in the course of the night, I concluded
<27> that the wind was fast augmenting. On the following day in the morning I underwent a new the uncalemities [calamities] of the seasickness, which deprived me of all apatite [appetite]. Nothing worth noticing hapened [happened] on the 3d of October on the 4th I felt myself much more fortified and able to eat any thing offered at table. Towards noon we got in view the swedish island Gothland, which according to the outward appearance from the waterside must be a very fertile land.
<28> During the night from the 4th to the 5th the motions (joltery) of the steamer were stranger then many night before; in speite [spite] of that however I slept very well and did not get up before eight o clock; the weather was somewhat foggy which circumstance prevented us from seeing the island Rugen, which we passed in the neighborhood [neighbourhood]. Towards two o clock in the afternoon the fog disappeared and we were enabled to see the coast of Macklenburgh which became
<29> more and more visible to us. The view of the mother(home) country after so many years separation is calculated to excite in every one feelings of the greatest joy. I however

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339) In 1707 Papin sailed with a paddle-steamer from Kassel to Münden. In 1807 the first passenger paddle-steamer went from New York to Albany. In 1843 the first steam boat with a propeller was build. All early paddle-steamers also were able to go under sail and often used both means of propulsion at the same time.

must confess to my shame, that I viewed my country with the greatest indifference. [340])

At seven in the evening we saw the light of the lighthouse of Travemunde, which stayed visible during the next three hours. At ten o'clock we finally arrived in T[ravemunde]. This little city, that I used to find very pretty [341]), now appeared to me as a little village and the lighthouse
<30> as a chimney. A large number of people were collected, partly to satisfy there curiosity and partly to earn something, by carrying the possessions of the passengers. The captain offered me a place in a special carriage, that he had rented for the ride to Lübeck. I accepted his proposal in the expectation that I would be cheaper off, since there were four in the carriage, but I was deceived, on arrival in Lübeck I was forced to pay half
<31> of what the captain had agreed for the carriage and for an other which carried our possessions. I put up at hotel "la ville de Hambourg" [342]) at the place of departure of the post. After having payed heavily for my shelter and my breakfast I left the next morning at 8 o clock. Lübeck is now a days a dead city and the view of the beautiful, in the gothic style, build belltowers is a regretful memory to the past greatness of L[übeck]. The weather was very nice and the sun,sparkling
<32> on the clear horizon, promised us a nice day. At the departure from L[übeck] I was surprised by the beautiful view, that was offered on all sides. The air was sweet like in summer, as if it was touched by the impression of spring. The houses, that we met en route, looked very neat on the outside, which for me, who just came from Russia, were the villages in general are filthy and badly build, was very noticeable. On a number of occasions, as we stopped to change horses, I had them give me a refreshment, that were always well prepared and nicely served. The carriage was occupied by six persons, an englishman, a swede and four germans [343]). By my predilection for the english language [344]) I preferred it to entertain my self with the englishmen, who sat opposite me. Finally around two in the afternoon we entered the city and travelled through many a newly build part of the city

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340) Bölke, Winfried; Heinrich Schliemann Ein berühmter Mecklenburger. Schwerin 1996. p.108. "This reaction of Schliemann had a psychological basis. His memories of the traumatic experiences from the last years of his childhood days are still such a heavy burden to him that he keeps a distance and does not want to see his father, his family members and friends, just as he kept a way from the places were it happened". This to me seems to be some what contradictory to the fact that Schliemann at leased seems to have played with the idea of visiting his sisters and father on the way to St. Petersburg.

341) I've been unable to established if or when Schliemann had earlier been in Travemunde.

342) Baedeker; The Rine and Northern Germany. 1870. "Hotel Stadt Hamburg, Breite Straße"

343) 1 englishmen
1 swede
4 germans
1 Schliemann
7

344) It's hard to find Schliemann's predilection for the english language in this journal. This part was written in french, as was the largest part of this journal. It's unclear why Schliemann wrote certain parts in english and others in french. Only the italian part is understandable while he in the same time spoke italian to his guide in Paris. According to Meyer K&F p. 102 did Schliemann use the languages in this journal to train him self.

<34> which I did not recognize [345]). After we had stopped on the court yard of the post I had my luggage carried to hotel Streit [346]), were I went on foot. I absolutely wanted a room on the front, but they had non except on the fifth floor, which I so was forced to take. For the trouble of climbing to my room I was amply rewarded, by the beautiful view that I was allowed to see, as well in the basin of the Alster, with a large number of boats
<35> full of people, as well as the beautiful streets of the Jungfernstieg, who surrounds the water on both sides and finally the enormous hotels, on the left and right side of the Alster.

The old and new Jungfernstieg.

After supper I have had my self driven, in all directions of the city, in a carriage with two horses. It was sunday and all the streets, brought or narrow, rich or poor, were packed with people, that seemed to have on purpose, pleasure.
<36> Gaiety ruled everywhere and I was sure that the people in this city have a totally different character than those in Russia. In Moscow one feels no were as happy as in the circle of ones own family. Here however one has something against that way of passing the time and one nowhere feels so content as in the pleasure of laud enjoyment. After having enjoyed my self for a long time with a ride in a carriage, I had them bring me to the theatre, were I not without trouble obtained a second rate place. I do not doubt that they played

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345) Those parts that were destroyed in the city fire of 1842 must have been more or less rebuild by 1846 and so Schliemann entered a city that had undergone a major change since his arrival in 1841. However he must already have seen how much change there was when he visited this city in January 1846.

346) Baedeker; The Rine and Northern Germany. 1870. "Streit's Hôtel in the Jungfernstieg"

beautifully, but my thoughts were so much
<37> elsewhere, than in Moscow, than in London, that I had trouble understanding what they were playing and I left the theatre before they had finished. The Hamburg theatre is less beautiful than the one in Moscow, even while this first has the name to be the most beautiful in Europe [347]).
Monday (October 7/19) I got up on time in the morning and occupied my self with the writing of small and unimportant things, just to pas the time. At 10 o clock in the morning I went to the office of the Schröder Gebrüber & Co. [348]), who were glad to hear that in
<38> future I will take care of there business, to gather with the son of Mr. Alexceff. I showed them an order for nine thousand ponds of coffee [349]), of F.M.J.V. of Moscow, with which they were highly content, they however remarked that the hamburger market in this moment did not have the right quality, which makes up the largest part of the sales of this house, that the new coffee, of the last harvest, would however arrive before the end of the year, before my return to Russia. I was able to obtain what in my eyes seems to be a good offer. Messrs. Sch[röder] pointed my attention especially
<39> to cigars, with which we probably could do large scale business. They remarked that one, some times, could earn up to fifty per cent in Russia on this product. I showed them a letter of introduction for the Messrs. J. Hy Schr[öder] & Co. in London and Mr. B.H. S[chröder] [350]) promised me to speak on my behave with his good father, who was here at this moment. After this I have hurried my self to write to Mr. W. A[lexceff] to tell him of my arrival and also to his son, who I gave a short description of my adventures. At one o'clock at noon I went to the exchange, were I
<40> looked fascinated at the enthusiasm by which the merchants executed there business. With large difficulties I pressed my self through the crowed, that was so thick that an apple could not drop to the ground there. On the exchange I visited my old friend, the ships merchant Wendt, who has showed him self so compasionate in my unhappy situation after the terrible shipwreck in the month of December 1841. He looked healthy and seemed a lot younger than the last time I saw him, past January. After the exchange I have used my supper at the hotel. After entering the hall I found my self eye to eye with the four englishmen
<41> who had travelled with me the distance from Lübeck and who had come to the table to satisfy there hunger. The dining room at Streit is one of the most beautiful that exist; it is enormously high, long and brought and the ceilings are decorated in different ways. In the length of the hall three tables were placed, covered with snow white table cloths and the whole hall was filled with people of the highest social standing. The english invited me to sit with them, which I did without hesitation. The four [351]) gentleman were

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347) Schliemann probably meant the Thaliatheater that was build in 1843.

348) The first letter that Schliemann received from the Schröder Gebrüder dates from May 13. 1846. Gennadius Library no. 87. Schliemann had done business with them on a regular basis.

349) Meyer K&F p. 104 " For the house of Schröder in Amsterdam he brought as a wedding-present an order for 9000 ponds of coffee."

350) In the Schröder family they often used the same names. This B.H. Schröder was a cousin of the amsterdam B.H. Schröder. It seems that Schliemann did not really knew the family relations of the Schröders, or got mixed up in it. Johann Heinrich (Joh. Henry) was not the father of this B.H. Schröder, but a cousins of his father.

351) According to p. 31 there was only one english men in the carriage.

<42> very nice to me. The four courses were highly to my tasted since they were prepared in the german way. Next to me sat a man who enjoyed bragging: he started a conversation with me and praised his large businesses, that he once had done in Russia. He even said that he knew the russian language, I gave him some proverbs, he wanted to answer, but did not succeed. To make good for his mistake he ordered four bottles of champagne, which he handled as if it was water.
<43> After supper the english and I went to the pavilion on the Elbe, were they had a beautiful concert. After having payed four shillings for the entrance we went in and were allowed to enjoy us as much as we wanted. There was a large crowed and it took a lot of trouble for us to find a seat. We did not stay long and returned to our hotel. While I suffered of the consequences of seasickness I could not sleep this night. I got up early in the morning <44> and gave the letter of recommendation, that I had obtained from Mr. Wl.A[lexceff] to Mr. J.H. Sch[röder]. He read it with great attention and was very polite. He said that he had no objection in giving us there agency and that he would tell his partners in London and Liverpool.

J. Hy. Schröder

He expressed him self so kindly about Mr. W. A[lexceff] that I did not doubt that everything was right. I assured him of my diligence in
<45> his interest and next went to the office of the Schr[öder] Gebrüder & Co., were I wrote a letter to Mr. W. A[lexceff] and an other to his brother P. A[lexceff] and a third to Messrs. F.W. & P.U. I gave P. A[lexceff] the, by the circumstances arisen, advise to consider Nitrate of Soda, I welcomed him to place an order against the low current prices. I communicated to Mr. W. A[lexceff] the results of my visit to Mr. J. Hy. S[chröder] and I informed F.W. & P.U. that the hamburg market was without the right kind of coffee
<46> that was suitable for trade on the russian market, but that I had provided my self with an offer and samples, that I would take along on my return trip, in December, to Russia. That afternoon I was occupied with the arrangement of my travel journal that I had neglected for some days. That evening I was visited by my old friend Amster, who at the moment is at the office of an distinguished house. I talked for an hour with him and afterwards immediately

went to bed
<47> The next morning I a new went to Mr. J. Hy. S[chröder] to collect the letter of recommendation for his London house, that he had promised me the previous day. He friendly received me and gave me the promised letter, next he remarked that he could not take a final decision about our agency before he had informed his partners, of which one, M[ahs] [352], had left, with his family, to Russia.
<48> To propitiate him even more for us I tooled him that Mr. A[lexceff] was willing to compensate him for the large lot of talc from 1839, by profitable deals, that they ....

The next 15 lines are written in pencil and so faint that I could not read them.
<49> the same holds for the first 16 lines of this page.

I had them give me some refreshments and mounted at 5 o clock in the evening the carriage- it was October 9/21. Never before in my life am I so insulted as on that evening.
<50> It seemed that the coachmen did there utmost to bring the speed of the horses down, than we did not get forwards, not withstanding the tips that I gave them or the laudatory orations that I gave about the russian carriages. We did about one and three quarter hour about seven werst [353]). This enormous slowness was extra noticeable to me, while I came from energetic Russia [354]), were the post reaches the exceptionally speed of seven werst in half an hour.
<51> Providence brought me, in the post carriage, in contact with a cloth merchant from Hamburg, who went for business to Bremen. While I insulted the slow german coachmen and praised the good things of Russia, he could not fail to see how devoted I am to this country and he told me that the french silk formed no concurrence for the russian silk trade and that that was why they made exceptional prices, for which they already had formed a russian society in Hamburg,
<52> which provided the trade through a large net-work [355]). For a better understanding I asked him in what kind of silk they were specially interested in Hamburg, he answered Serge [356]). I thought about the opportunities that the information of this man gave me, I could give it to Mr. GGS, manufacturer for Mr. W. A[lexceff] and owner of a large silk factory in Russia. I've also tried to get extended information for my house about the silk trade
<53> in Hamburg, as to be able to point this out to Mr. S[chröder] and to show him this

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352) This was Thomas Mahs, the hamburg partner of Joh. Henry. He was born in St. Petersburg.

353) A werst was 1066 meter.

354) Cole p. 116. " Till 1861 the people of Russia were largly serfs - to all intents and purposes the property of the landowning classes. There were industrial developments in spite of this; but they were largely either in State factories for munution-making or in factories carried on by landowners with serf labour. The free sector of industry was small, and could hardly grow because of the narrow limitations of the market. The serfs had hardly any purchasing power: the wealthy wanted imported luxuries rather than native products."

355) Lincoln pp. 270-271. "Raw cotton imports (an indication that the Russian textile industry was producing more of its own thread) rose from an average of 5.400.000 pounds in 1831 to an average of 40.000.000 pounds in 1848."

356) It seems that Schliemann used the word silk for textiles in general, cause Serge is made of wool.

preference. According to a remark of my travel companion, who was a cloth dealer from Hamburg, this article was imported from Russia with a lot of profit, by houses who already for some years occupied them self with the shipment of cloth from Russia and who made there shipments larger and larger. On my request he gave me his address.
<54> His name is Wilhelm Volges and he lives in Hamburg on the Neueburg no. 15. I promised to visit him in December, during my return trip to Russia and asked him to equip me with samples on which I could base my information and make my calculations. He happily consented, even more so when I toled him about the wealth of my Moscow house [357]). After enormous annoyance en route I arrived at 10/22 at 9 o'clock in the morning in Bremen.
<55> I took up residence in hotel "Lindenhof", were I made them give me a good breakfast. I refreshed my self a bit and went to the office of GH & PD S[chröder] [358]), who received me kindly. I tooled them about the favourable signs under which I started my business at the beginning of the new year. They agreed with my way of dealing and longed to start a mutual profitable and pleasant cooperation.
<56> Mr. S[chröder] agreed with me, that we especially could do profitable business in coffee, better than on the market in Hamburg [359]), which can not compete with that of Bremen, when the good kinds are wanted, the kinds that are suitable for use in Moscow. Regretfully I heard about a coffee lot that was shipped by Messrs. GH & Co. this spring from Bremen, each for 5.5, which was bought by S&F&O, who based there bill on 7/4/1, with a difference of about
<57> 32% advantage for there account. The Messrs. GH & PD S[chröder] seem very nice people to me, very generously they are ready to give there products in consignation for a low amount in the expectation that we russians can sell them with a profit. I flatter my self that I have been able to make them think that we shell succeed in our mutual desire. They asked me for clear information on the product cloth, that
<58> they buy at the right source in Moscow, which they did not doubt. So I did not neglect to inform them about this article of my friend W. A[lexceff] and at the same time asked them to give my a purchase calculation. Russian cloth is transported in enormous quantities to Bremen and has a good name in America. I do not doubt that good business is to be done with this article. What Tobacco concerns, this product is always difficult to trade in Russia [360]) and much more dangerous than other articles
<59> thanks to the combination that is made in St. Petersburg by Schittein Jionner & Rothamun & Co. These last are not like our partners in Bremen and by there position completely opposite to this hous, they are simply better than the new competitors and that is there power. To my opinion they have to keep them self to the execution of the first order of Mr. Pertoff. GH & PD Schr[öder] told me that they expect the arrival of two cargoes of Campeche wood in Bremen, which we probably
<60> can use for the order of P. A[lexceff], if the quality is excellent and the price moderate. Concerning this purchase I do not hurry, they have promised to help me on to a

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357) With my "Moscow house" Schliemann meant W. Alexceff. It seems that he was sure that he had a deal to work with them, in the end this deal never materialised.

358) In 1830 Peter Daniel Schröder and Gottfried Heinrich Schröder had taken over the firm of Johan Schröder & Co. in Bremen. Schliemann's first contact with this firm dates from January 9, 1846.

359) Tapolshi; Der Kaffeeterminhandel. 1896. "Hamburg is the foremost coffee harbour of Germany."

360) Meyer K&F p. 105 "An rout with the post over Bremen to Holland he is of rare communicativeness and enterprise-lust for new trades in Tobacco, ..."

model calculations in London. I profit in this way because I can make my calculations and can compare those with the prices in Liverpool. During my stay in Bremen [361]) I visited the fair, that made for a lot of gaiety and activity among the peaceful citizens. The city of Bremen is privileged
<61> by its situation at the mouth of the Weser, it has mercantile contacts all over the world and a fleet of more than 220 ships. Further more there is nothing special to be seen, the streets are narrow with on both sides rows of flat stone plates, just like in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Two belltowers in the old style give the atmosphere of greatness and contribute to give this city an old exterior. Longing to speed up my trip I again left at 4 o'clock
<62> in the afternoon. The carriages of the post go in Germany there doubtful way, what ever tip one gives the coachman. Even while I was terribly bored I was forced by necessity. During the ride I entered in a conversation with a young man, who told that he was a traveller for a house in Hamburg. He told me stories about the wickedness of the hamburg police and the cleaver tricks of this institution, among which this one:
<63> For some years they have treated a secretary of the post in Berlin in a terrible sneaky way; he was en route with a case, containing a thousand prussian Daalders [half-a-crown]; he had come with the post horses to Hamburg, he had gone aboard an english steamer, that would leave that night for London. A secret servant of the hamburg police, who impersonated a caretaker for all, came that evening to the cabin and asked the passengers,
<64> who were collected there, who wanted to exchange foreign money for english money. The secretary of the post, who had nothing of this last, asked the servant of the police, who called him self a servant of one or an other bank, if he would help in the exchange of some bills of the prussian bank against bills in sterling. The servant said he would and asked how much he wanted to change. The secretary of the post got out of his chest a package of 5000
<65> daalders in bills. The servant stayed away to long.

I left Bremen on the 11/23 instant [?] by the stagecoach which set off at four in the afternoon. The environs of Bremen appeard [appeared] to me very desert and tedious, the more so as we were proceeding at a very slow pace. A description of the very unpleasant journey up to Amsterdam and of the small market towns we passed on the road would appear prolix; I therefore limit myself in stating that I arrived at Arnhem on the13/25 at11 o'clock in the morning
<66> and proceeded immediately by the railroad to Amsterdam. Arnhem is a very nice place, and provided with a great many beautifully situated countryseats of the rich of the town. A[rnhem] was the first pretty large dutch town I met with, since I left Holland in January last and indeed I cannot deny my great exultation (when I saw) upon looking at the nice houses, the exterior of which, very much preoccupied me in its favor, as well for the extreme cleanliness of the windows as for freshly painted doors. Having taken some refreshment at A[rnhem] I set off for Amsterdam
<67> How swiftly soever the railcarriages might proceed, it seemed to me, that they were going on at a slow rate, for My impatience was very great. By building the railway from A[rnhem] to A[msterdam] the dutchmen have been labouring under and troubling themselves with many difficulties obliged as they were to dug the road through high hills and to

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361) "lors de mon séjour à Brémen il y avait la foire" I guess that Schliemann ment Bremen.

construct again over and across high dikes over deep abysses [362]). Two hours and a half riding brought us to the metropolis gate [363]). I hired a hockney coach and got myself conducted to a fashionable inn called City Elberfeld [364]). I highly rejoiced in <68> looking at the Amsterdam streets and canals, each of which called to my remembrance the past time of sorrow and joy. The houses appeared to me having diminished in size, which is to be attributed to the circumstance that I was coming from much more eminent places from St. Petersburgh and Moscow [365]). My mind was particularly taken up on passing one street called Vijgendam [366]), where I formerly lived at a booksellers, to whose hostel I bore great affection for several reasons.

The Vijgendam in the middle of the 19e century.

362) This was "de Nederlandsche Rhijn Spoorweg Maatschappy". This line was opened in 1845 and went from Arnhem via Utrecht to Amsterdam. The picture that Schliemann gives of the problems that had to be overcome during construction are highly over estimated. only on the first part of the line one had to dig through a number of small sand hills, the largest part of this line is situated on absolute flat land. In reality there were no problems thanks the geographical situation during the construction of this line.

363) This line ended before the city gates on the side of Weesp, at "Weesperpoort".

364) Baedeker; Belgique et Hollande. 1910. "Hotel Stadt Elberfeld, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 141" In the edition of 1878 the address is missing, but it has an extra recommendation. "très-fréquenté par les négociants."

365) Miranda. p. 11. "... from 1795 to 1880 Amsterdam was a dead city, In 85 years the number of lived in houses even went back from 26400 to 25877." We find the atmosphere of those days for instance in a poem that P.A. de Génestet wrote for his college the poet Mr. J. van Lennep.

"Sweet and blissful is the silence of the lonely nightly hour.
Even if not in a green arbour, in the midst of nature,
Near a brook, with zephyr's romantic moonlight:
Also with lamplight and cigars such an hour can be bliss."

(With excuses to this poet, I was unable to keep his careful constructed rime in this translation.)

366) Being close to the exchange, this was one of the more important streets in nineteenth century Amsterdam.

Having taken possession of a small room at the inn above alluded to, I put on other clothes and got my dinner afterwards. I went to
<69> the old counting house of Schröder & Co, who had just removed and lived now on another canal. I went thither, and told to my former principal of the carreer [career] I was entering upon with new-year, this agreeable news he was glad to hear and promised to assist in every possible manner towards the cultivation of an active and profitable intercourse with W. A[lexceff] He presented to me his wife, a young lady of abt.18 years of age pretty handsome and of middling height [367]). They told me of their journey to Constantinopel [368]) in summer last and of the difficulties they had to battle with
<70> on the road. Having remained with Mr. Sch[röder] for half an hour I went to look for my former colleagues, whom I found at diner in an inn. They were surprised to see me so soon, having thought, that I only came the ensuing day. I went with them to the theater [theatre] in order to see the ballet [369]), which however did not please me at all probably on account of my being quite fatigued and exhausted. The theater [theatre] was crowded with people. The next morning I went to the counting house at nine and, although it was a sunday, I
<71> was occupied up till half past four o'clock in writing several letters to my friends in Russia and admonishing them to hasten with payment. One of the first clerks of S[chröder]s counting house having invited me to dine with them in the Americain hôtel [hotel], I went thither and visited afterwards in society of several acquaintances the great coffee-house and the saloon "Frascati" [370]), where a beautiful concert was given. The following day, monday the 14/26 October I wrote still some letters to my russian friends and went afterwards to change [371]), where I past
<72> my compliments to several of my old friends, merchants of this city. After change I dined with 3 young men on my acc in the very hôtel [hotel], in which I lived and went hereafter again to the counting house of S[chröder] and then to the german Coffeehouse where I sat till nine talking of odds and ends with my old colleagues. Attending the counting house again on the15/27 nst, I wrote a letter to Mr. W.A[lexceff] of Moscow and procured from Mr. S[chröder] a letter of credit for a hundred pounds Ster [372]).

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367) Berhard Hinrich Schröder (1807-1889). He was also 39 years old.

368) In his official autobiography Schliemann tolled his readers that all of his life had been under the direction of Troy. Here however we find no remark in that direction, no hint that he too wanted to go to Constantinople.

369) Rodrigues p. 152. "The City-theatre was in the 19th century the stage of the giants of the dutch theatrical art. ... For years they were in the habit to perform a ballet after the play, ..."

370) Frascatie was build in 1842 as a concert hall. Wijnman, Mr. H.F.; Historische Gids van Amsterdam. 1971, tells us that this theatre was mainly used for music-hall performances. After 1893 it became the Amsterdam tobacco exchange.

371) Schliemann means that he went to the Exchange. Scheltema, P.; De beurs van Amsterdam. Amsterdam 1846 p. 76. "The back gable, that just like both side gables has an extension, is situated above the water of the Damrak. Above the entrance of the back extension is, by resolution of the city council, place a marble memorial table, with an inscription in gold letters: Build for cost of the city / Opened for the mercantile world / in the presence of / Willem II. King of the Netherlands / September 10. 1845."

372) Gennadius Library no. 336

The Amsterdam Exchange

<73> London 8th November
I feel very much grieved in not having been able to pursue the thread of my journal for 12 days, the more so as I commenced it with the view both for useful entertainment for my Moscovian friends and gratification to myself in reading at a future period the circumstantial descriptions of so interesting a journey as my present proves to be. Not being able to recollect at present every particular, which happened to me on the one day and the other, I limit myself in stating, that I left Amsterdam on the 27th October for Rotterdam.

Since Schliemann had lived in Amsterdam and not saw this city for the first time, like London and Paris somewhat later on this trip, there was probably nothing in this city that really excited him, which might declare why he did not write about it in this travel journal. It is however remarkable, that we hear nothing of his brother Ludwig who, at that time, still lived in this city. Did Schliemann not visit him?

<74> Where I stopt [stoped] for the night in the intention to depart the following morning by the "Rainbow" steamer, starting at eight o' clock for London. Having come to late at Amsterdam for the train [373]) starting at 4.30 o'clock, I delivered my luggage to the principal waiter in the office who promised me, that the same should be forwarded to "Koens" stagecoach office by the boot train arriving at Rotterdam at almost midnight. Thinking that all would be right and go in perfect order and condition, I went alone by the train, awaiting at the appointed hour the arrival of the stagecoach which was to convey <75> my trunk. However to my greatest astonishment my luggage had been forgotten and the coachmen & conductor could not afford me any explication. I was in the greatest anxiety indeed, for I was under the necessity of starting by the steamer on the following morning. I was at a loss to divine (account for) how I was to act in so disagreeable a position. Where necessity is greatest, assistance is nearest; at seven o'clock in the morning my trunk was

373) Here Schliemann used the Amsterdam - Haarlem line of 1839. Over the years this line was extended, but it did not reach Rotterdam until 1847. In 1846 this line ended in Delft and Schliemann had to make the last leap of this trip by coach.

brought on by the night stagecoach, which had taken it as by accident at the railway station.

Paul Gabriël "He is comming from a far" ca. 1887

As soon as I had got into possession of it I went with it to
<76> the steamer, reaching the latter quite in time, for the foggy weather prevented her early starting. Having taken a place in the first cabbin [cabin], for which I was to pay a guinea and seven shillings, the steamer went on a slow pace and it lasted some hours till we got out of the river Meuse. There were twelve or forteen [fourteen] first cabin passengers, among whom I found the one & the other of agreeable society. The kitchen afforded all possible english comforts and pleased me very much. The breakfast was served up at eight o'clock and consisted of tea and coffee
<77> roasted bread with butter dry roasted bread, usual dry bread, muffin with butter, fowl, dugs [ducks?], mutton, roast beef, fried fish & herring, eggs tea and coffee which latter was brought on the table in quite a different manner as in our country. No "Samophare" [374]) is to be seen on the english breakfast table, the waiter brings a dry pot of new silver plate, puts into it a large quantity of tea, (not bearing in mind) without consideration, that tea is a pretty dear [375]) article; then he goes out with the teapot and brings it back again filled with hot water. Tea as well as coffee are
<78> badly prepared in this country. The weather was very fine and a continually fair wind causing but a slight buoyant movement of the vessel, so that all my fears of falling seasick disappeared. At about midnight we could already see the fire of a lighthouse on the shore of the river "Thames". Though the movement of the vessel was very slight, yet I felt sickly and underwent a pretty strong fit of the seasickness. I was on deck almost all the night, amusing myself in vieuwing [viewing] the great number of fires in the lighthouses on both sides of the magnificent river.
<79> The foggy weather compelled us again to stop at four o' clock and it was not before eight that we could proceed. A view of the most splendid character offered it self to us, both upon the river covered with thousands of ships of all possible dimensions as on the adjacent very

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374) Schliemann wrote:

375) Schliemann probably was confused with the dutch word "duur", expensive.

nicely cultivated land. We gradually passed by Woolwich, Greenwich and Gravesand and arrived at last at nine o'clock at the Custom house near Blackwall railway station, where our luggage was brought into the office room and examond [examined] in the most accurate manner. Five other steamers having arrived in the morning before
<80> us, we were compelled to wait, until the luggage of the various passengers arrived by them had undergone examination. Having been annoyed thus for abt two hours, I got into the officeroom were I was to open my trunk and get it examined [376]); by doing so I vainly looked for my hatbox, containing a new hat, it had gone and must have been robbed in the one manner, or the other on our arrival. After the trouble of the customhouse officers I went by the railway carriages just behind the customhouse to London; the carriages were driven by ropes, with the assistance
<81> of a steam engine, placed at the stationhouse [377]). As soon as we arrived I went into an omnibus, upon the top of which my luggage was placed and got myself conveyed to St Pauls coffeehouse [378]), where I took up my lodgings, occupying a frontroom, which pleased me very well, for it afforded a nice view on the grand St Pauls cathedral and queen Elizabeth's statue, placed before it. Having put on other dressing, I called at Messrs J Hy Schröder & Co's office situated in Leadenhallstreet [379]) which I found out with great difficulty.

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376) Capadose, Dr. A; London bezocht in 1851. Amsterdam. 1855. In 1851 Dr. A. Capadose visited a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London were he gave talks on subjects as "Rome and unbelief." He was a very fundamentalistic protestant. p. 11. "In the mean time we had slowly come closer over the Themes. From a beautiful night nature awoke and was greeted by lovely sunrise that made her gayer. I too was done a world of good since the penetrating morning beams not only removed the fog of the land but also the melancholy from the soul. Now we passed Woolwich, Gravesend and some what later Greenwich." pp 12-13. "... and so the mouth of the Themes , close to London, was covered with merchant- and naval ships, who announced the seat of the queen of the sea, the residence of all merchants of the world, the Tyrus of our century." pp. 15-16. "... one immediately starts with our disembarkation on the, which gigantic letters announced place, Catharina Wharf, an all but royal and even less agreeable arrival. A boat from Antwerp was just in front of us, and now we were, together with a lot of people and our luggage, driven in a large barn, were the passengers of for called boat had cut us of, and we got the prospect of a long wait."

377) In the nineteenth century there were three ways in use to move a train by way of a cable or rope.
I. A train that was pulled forwards by a rope that was fastened on one side.
II. A rope that went over a wheel and had a carriage on both ends.
III. A rope that run on both sides around a wheel. The carriages could be coupled or discoupled to this rope on any given place. In this way the carriages were independent from the power source.
To this last system also belonged the Belgium "System Mans", which run between 1843 and 1848 between Aken and Luik. This is probably the system that Schliemann describes on p. 281 of his journal.

378) Schliemann probably meant: Baedeker; Londres ses Environs Le Sud de l'Angleterre le pays de Galles et l'écosse. 1875. "The Cathedral Hotel, 48 St. Paul's-churchyard."

379) Roberts p 39. "In 1835 it [J. Henry Schröder & Co.] moved to 102 Leadenhall Street, a big building set back from the road which housed about fifteen firms of merchants, shipping agents and insurance brokers. Baron Sir John Henry Schröder described the building as 'a mansion house over a pickle factory'. The reasons for the moves are unknown but they may have been prompted by the need for additional accommodation since between 1829, when records begin, and 1849, the staff increased from five to ten,

Leadenhall Street ca. 1840

Not finding there the prior Mr. Post [380]), I called
82a [381]) again after the lapse of half an hour. In delivering my letters of recommendation, I made the acquaintance of Mr Post, above alluded to, a friendly, very healthy looking man of the age of abt fifty [382]). He expressed his great satisfaction in learning our proposals, and stated that he did not doubt we would come to a mutual agreeable and advantageous agreement and arrangement; in spite of his great desire to bring the matter soon to a close, he could not do so without the acquiescence of the prior Mr J Hy Sch[röder] actually living in Hamburg [383]). He promised to address
83a him by next post. I candidly confess, I was much disappointed, for I was quit assured that I would be successful on the spur of the occasion. However seeing, that nothing could be done, I left Mr. P[ost] and went to change where I saw again Mr. P[ost] and communicated to him my resolution to set out for Liverpool without loss of time, my burning impatience not allowing me to wait here the priors answer. On change I spoke to Mr. Grigori Fjodorovitsj Matvejev [384]) for whom I had brought a parcel with shoes from St Petersburgh. I also entertained myself with the son of N.I. Oesatsjev [385])
<82> who appeared to have adopted the air of the town, for he looked a great deal older, paler & leaner than last year, when I saw him in Amsterdam. After change I went to the Baltic

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suggesting that the firm was prospering."

380) Roberts p. 39. "... in August 1824 a new partnership was formed with Hermann Otto von Post, a 34-year-old merchant, the son of a Bremen lawyer, who had set up in business on his own account in the City a few years earlier. The terms of the partnership are unknown, but it appears unlikely that von Post contributed substantially to J. Henry Schröder & Co.'s capital, since he was referred to by Barings in 1835 as 'a confidential German clerk who signs by procuration for the house'."

381) Numbers with a letter behind it are pages that have no number in the original.

382) Post was born in 1790, so in 1846 he was 56.

383) Meyer K&F p. 105. "..., since Schröder-London thanks to keeping fog had not come from his country estate to his city office, ..."

384) Written in Russian

385) Written in Russian

Coffeehouse where I met with Valentin Konstantinovits [386]) a good looking young man, whom I bare affection to after the very first verbal intercourse with him. I invited him to call upon me in the evening, together with Vasili Ivanovits [387]), who was likewise present and seemed very much supprised [surprised] at seeing me so unexpectedly in London.
<83> Valentin Konstantinovitsj accompanied me directly, whilst Vasili Ivanovitsj promised to call at my lodgings after having dined. I can not deny my great exultation, when I found myself in the society of these two Russians, natives of Moscow, of the very same place, to which I bear so sincere and so excessive an affection. In drinking plentifully a certain wine, called Cherry [388]), we conversed very much of Moscow, and I thought it on this occasion my duty to tell all possible good things; which I knew of it. They left me at nine
<84> o'clock in the evening, Vasili Ivanovitsj having half and half formed the idea to accompany me as far as Paris.
The new morning 30th of October, I called again at J Hy Schr[öder] &Co's office, requesting Mr. P[ost] to furnish me with a letter of introduction to his Liverpool-house [389]), which he did most wilfully, assuring me at the same time of his great desire to come to an conclusion with me. I went then home again, packed up my luggage, paid my bill, amounting to abt a guinea, though I had not got any
<85> diner & got up upon an omnibus going to the great Western railroad. Wishing to have good society on so long, although quick a journey, I took a ticket for the first class. The Western-railwaystation is a colossal immense building quite in correspondence with the emminence [eminence] of its object [390]). The train went on at half past twelve o' clock. The weather was pretty prosperous and I was highly delighted with the beautiful scenery on both sides of the railroad, when the train proceeded. It lasted a long while
<86> until we got entirely out of the tremendous town; which like an immense abbyss [abyss] [391]) is likely to swallow away in the course of time whole England. In spite of the fair weather, which prognosticated in favor[favour] of a successful journey the air was filled with such an intense smoke and fog, that in fact, the sky presented a dull and gloomy

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386) Written in Russian.

387) Written in Russian

388) Sherry, it's clear that Schliemann did not know this kind of wine and understood the meaning of the word wrongly.

389) Roberts p. 39. "In July 1839, Johann Heinrich [John Henry] established a third firm, J.H. Schröder & Co., in Liverpool, of which initially he was the sole proprietor. The capital of the new firm was £50,000, a fairly typical sum for modest-sized merchant banks of the day, ... However, Johann Heinrich informed the Bank of England's Liverpool branch that he was prepared to commit a further £150,000 to the undertaking should it be required, indicating substantial wealth. To manage the firm he engaged Nikolaus Mahs, a younger brother of Thomas Mahs, his partner in Hamburg and relation by marriage; and Charles Pickering, a local man from the family of Pickering Brothers, Liverpool corn merchants. Pickering and Mahs were taken into partnership by Johann Heinrich in October 1842, apperently to satisfy the Liverpool branch of the Bank of England, which was unwilling to allow the firm to open a drawing account in the absence of a resident partner."

390) The Great Western Railroad was opened in 1835. It left from Paddington Station.

391) When in 1902 Jack London published a book on the London slums he called it "The People of the Abyss."

aspect, so that we were not able to look a far [392]). The country presented a most magnificent aspect; whither so ever I might look, everywhere I saw extremely well cultivated fields, enclosed by nice nut, honeysuckle or thawdorn [hawthorn?] hedges, which with their <87> green foliage (leaves) bore the gratifying aspect of summer [393]). The villages and small cities, which we got in view touched me likewise to the quick, everywhere I saw neatly looking stone buildings, and their inhabitants appeared to me nicely dressed in sunday apparel. The railroad from London to Liverpool has abt 220 miles in length, which are performed by the express train in 5 three quarter hours and by the slow train in 10 three quater; the constructure [construction] of the road has been accompanied by immense obstacles and difficulties for the territory consists of nothing but hills and valleys. Going to or coming from Liverpool, you have to pass many tunnels or roads digged [dug] through <88> the ground. The longest tunnel in England is on the railroad from Manchester to Sheffield, and abt 3 miles long; an other very long one is near Liverpool; both these tunnels are cut through high rocks and most skilfully made. I can't deny, I was always seized ~~b~~ with horror, whenever we entered any one of these tunnels, for such is the obscurity in them, that it is impossible to see even the hand before the eyes.

Great Western Railway

392) Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan: The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans. "In the third week of November, in the year 1895, a dense yellow fog setteled down upon London. From the Monday to the Thursday I doubt whether it was ever possible from our windows in Baker Street to see the loom of the opposite houses. The first day Holmes had spent in cross-indexing his huge book of references. The second and third had been patiently occupied upon a subject which he had recently made his hobby - the music of the Middle Ages. But when, for the fourth time, after pushing back our chaird from breakfast we saw the greasy, heavy brown swirl still drifting past us and condensing in oily drops upon the window-pane, my comrad's impatient and active nature could endure this drab existence no longer."

393) Shelley, P.B. (1792-1822); Autumn

The warm sun is failing, the bleak wind is wailing,
The bare boughs sre singhing, the pale flowers are dying;
And the year
On the earth, her deathbed, in a shroud of leaves dead
Is lying.
Come, Month, come away,
From November to May,
In your saddest array, -
Follow the bier
Of the dead, cold year,
And like dim shadows watch by her sepulchre.

Through the tunnel near Liverpool we were drawn by a rope, on account of the uneaveness [unevenness] of the ground. I arrived at Liverpool at 10·45 o'clock in the evening and took up my lodging in George hôtel Dolestreet [394])
<89> where I got a front room. The next morning, after having got my breakfast prepared in the english manner, I purchased a hat, which I found out with great difficulty, owing to the large size of my head. Hats are made much better with us in Russia; the Beaver hats having come out of fashion in England, they are not worn any more, and the silken hats are very bluntly made and so heavy, that they prove to be troubelsome [troublesome] to him, who is accustomed to the comforts of hats of the russian manufactur. Afterwards I called at J Hy Schr[öder] & Co's office, Rumford place No11, whom I found out without difficulty. I delivered the letter of recommendation
<90> furnished to me by Mr. P[ost] as well as that from Mr. W. A[lexceff] which was given back again to me by Mr. P[ost] for the purpose of presenting it at Liverpool. Mr Mahs (Nicolas) and Pickering priors of the Liverpool establishment, expressed themselves in the same way as Mr. Post, they did not in the least doubt of our coming to a reciprocally agreeable and advantageous arrangement, not withstanding however they could do nothing in the matter without the acquiescence of their prior J Hy S[chröder] in Hamburg, and his partner Thomas Mahs actually at St Petersburgh. N[icolas] M[ahs] promised to write a private letter to the latter as well as to J Hy S[chröder]
<91> and introduced me then into the great Newspaper room on the exchange. The newspaper room is the largest and the best fitted up for the purpose, that I ever saw [in] my life; from early in the morning till late at night this grand saloon is always strongest with mercantile people and it constitues [constitutes] in some way the exchange as it affords most convenient opportunities of combining business. The visitor finds there all possible english newspapers, which he can read at his care, after having been inscribed into the book by some member of the society. Mr M[ahs] told me a great deal of the business as transacted in this quarter; and
<92> introduced me into the acquaintance of his brother in law, broker in Drysaltery goods, in whose society he showed me the port, a part of the navy and of the beautiful docks. In the port, there was lying a steamer with two chimnies [chimneys], the first of that kind, which I ever saw [in] my life; it seems to be a new invention and calculated to afford pleasure & to gratify the ambition of the mercantile community at large. Mr. M[ahs] procured me afterwards the acquaintance of his father in law, broker in cotton, who promised to prepare for me a nice set of cotton samples, of which he would
<93> retain contra samples, so that on sending afterwards orders from Russia I had merely to refer to those samples. The saturday afternoon and evening I spend alone home, occupying myself with writing of all odds and ends; in the same way I spent the sunday, which in England is a day of rest; all shops are closed and no public amusement is allowed to take place; the London and Liverpool streets, which during the week are always throngedly [strongly ?] crowded with cabs, carts, omnibusses and other sorts of vehicles and many hundred thousands of footpassengers, present on a sunday a feature of tranquillity. The english churches are all very well attended to as properly speaking
<94> they are the only places of resort on a sunday; even in the family circles the englishmen don't accept of any visit on this day kept up so holy. On monday forenoon I called again at J Hy S[chröder] & apprized them, that I was decided to sat out for Manchester, in order to view the manufacturled [manfactury's] there and requested them to provide me with some lines of introduction to their friends there. Having granted my request Mr. M[ahs] invited me to dine with him on the ensuing day. Although I bore in mind, that I was thus compelled to make for a single dinner a journey of sixty five miles, spending at the same

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394) Baedeker; Gross Britannien. 1906. "Hotel St. George, 51 Dale Street"

time
<95> abt 1 £ for travelling expenses, yet I judged it expedient to accept his invitation promising to be back again at 3 o'clock on the following day. Paying my bill at the hôtel, where I lodged, I left my luggage there and departed by the 12,30 o'clock train. The country on both sides of the road appeared to me far less attractive than that from London to Liverpool [395]); as far as the eye reached innumerable manufactures were to be seen, and the intense smoke arising continually from their most gigantic chimnies [chimneys] clearly demonstrated the activity, with which the same very [were?] employed. At 2,30 o'clock I arrived
<96> at Manchester, and went straight on to Messrs Abraham Troost & Co's office in order to reach as soon as possible the object of my travel in viewing the principal manufactures of the town. The houses of M[anchester] build from brickstone & not covered with chalk or color [colour], present a very dirty and nasty appearance, the streets are for the most part broad, but very dirty [396]). Whither so ever I might go, every where I saw manufactures, the gigantic chimnies [chimneys] of which like immense steeples of churches identified the importance of the home trade. Mr Tr[oost]. was not at home and I was therefore compelled to call again at 6 o'clock, when I met him. T[roost] is a man
<97> of abt 34 years of age and easily to be recognized as a german. He promised to furnish me the next morning with some lines of introduction to some of his friends, and not wishing to interrupt him in his profound meditations I left him directly. I was walking abt the town, when on passing a mercenary shop, I saw coming out a man, whose features appeared familiar to me in spite of the duskiness of the evening. On approaching him, I recognised him directly to be no other than my old acquaintance "Brakestone" with whom I had travelled together in
<98> January last from Amsterdam to Berlin [397]). Good gracious, cried I from whence do you come Mr B[rakestone]; he also knew me instantly and highly rejoiced in seeing me again. He invited me to lodge in the very same hotel where he lived, which I did not hesitate to do, not having taken up yet my lodgings any where. The hôtel, he recommended me to, was a pretty comfortable one and occupied by fashionable Englishmen. I went into the coffeeroom got some supper and awaited B[rakestone], who came down afterwards; we talked much about the
<99> past adventures, which we underwent together and drinking a bottle of Sherry [398]), we wished that providence might procure us anew the pleasure of making such an interesting

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395) London & North Western Railway, opened in 1830. Baedeker; Grossbritannien. 1906. "The landscape of the factory district, through which it goes, is without interest."

396) Cole pp 52-53. "This expansion of mechanised methods from the spinning to the weaving of cotton was accompanied by an enormous increase in output. British production of cotton cloth had grown tenfold between 1785 and 1802; and it grew again fivefold between 1820 and 1850." Even if the grows in the other branches of industry was some what smaller, it is easy to see that this grows was only possible as long as one was able to pull large masses to the industrial cities, that as a consequence grew rapidly. Manchester had in 1759 20.000 inhabitants. By 1851 this number had grown to 303.382. One of the consequences of this fast grew was that often city planning and infrastructure stayed behind in development.

397) And so we now know that Schliemann in January 1846 went over land to St. Petersburg. By doing so he could easily have visited his family in Mecklenburg without loosing to much time.

398) This time he got the spelling right.

journey together. The next morning after having taken my breakfast, I went on and delivered to Messrs Sharp brothers the lines of introduction, which Troost & Co. had furnished me with; consequently there upon I got directly admittance into their eminent manufactury, one of the workman being appointed to conduct me throughout the manufactury in which nothing was made besides Steamengines
<100> for railroads. He first conducted me underneath into the groundfloor, where the engines were completed & composed of the various plates, screws & rows [399]) made in the different apartments of the manufactury. In viewing the great number of colossal engines standing there and prepared for various parts of germany, I could not help thinking of and wondering at the advance, the community of the world at large had made in scientific point of view in the last 25 years. Art [400]) has thrown off the difficulties, under which trade was formerly prevailing, in consequence of slow
<101> conveyances of letters & goods. Now, there are properly speaking no distances; from the most southern part of England you can go up to the most northern part of Scotland in one single day, whilst telegraphs [401]) convey the news with the quickness of lightning. Having viewed the particulars exhibited in this apartment, we went into another, where screws, iron staffs, and other things belonging to the steamengines were performed. It was in fact worth seeing with what an ability the iron was cut as smoothly, as if it were butter and adopted for the various purposes. My guide told me that
<102> every one of the workmen has his perpetual work, one for instance makes nothing but small rows of the one kind, the other of the other kind and so on; paying from youth off all attention to the study of one work, one can bring it in the same to great accomplishment and thus it can't be astonishing, that every thing is performed with the greatest accuracy. Among the great many objects shown to me, the manner, in which the Iron-rows are performed inparticular attracted my attention. They dig in the ground a shallow hole, in which they lay out pieces
<103> of iron, just in the form as the row is to be made afterwards the openings between the pieces of iron are filled up by founded iron, prepared in an oven in the vicinity. All pieces of iron being thus attached together in the form of a row, the mass undergoes the

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399) "Row" is probably used here as a form of "roll" and so has the meaning of wheel. It seems that this for Schliemann was a "normal" word. In his American journal we too find it. Webber p. 13. "We had rows to our post-carriage and could therefore proceed but slowly through the deep snow." He too we find it in the meaning of wheel.

400) Schliemann her probably meant Science.
Robinson, Edward; Introductory Note to Layard, Austen Henry; Nineveh and its remains. New York 1849. p. i "In this general progress the nineteenth century stands preeminent. In physical science, the brilliant discoveries of Davy and others have changed the whole face of chemistry. The steamemgine, through in a measure earlier perfected, has first in our day been applied with its mighty energies to navigation, to locomotion on land, and (not least) to the printing-press. The flitting sunbeam has been grasped, and made to do man's bidding in place of the painter's pencil. And althrough Franklin tamed the lightning, yet not until yesterday has its instantaneous flash been made the vehicle of language; thus, in the transmission of thought, annihilating space and time. The last forty years likewise bear witness to the exploration of many lands of ancient renown; and our present exact and full acquaintance with the regions and monuments of Greece and Egypt, of Asia Minor and the Holy Land, is the result of the awakened activity, coupled with the enlarged facilities, of the nineteenth century. - In all these discoveries and observations, it is not too much to say, that our country has born at least her proportionate part."

401) The first telegraph was build in 1832 by Schilling-Cannstadt, but it not only became useful until Morse had invented his alphabet in 1836.

operation of the hammer is cut out, smoothed and belaboured, till it gets the desired dimension and shape. At twelve o'clock I set again off for Liverpool, in order to fulfil the promise I gave to Mr Mahs to dine with him. I met him in his countinghouse where he had written
<104> a letter to me for the purpose of delivering it in my hôtel, in case I might not meet him in his office. In the letter he gave me the necessary directions as to his dwelling and the hour appointed for diner. Mr M[ahs] living in the country abt 2 miles from L[iverpool] and the hour of diner being at 6, I was to go by an Omnibus, which left my hôtel at 5.30; it proved to me a matter of great difficulty to find out M[ahs]'s house, and in face I did not find it before being cheated several times by the coachmen. It was not before
<105> 6.45 when I made my appearance. M[ahs] presented me his wife, a friendly nicely looking young lady of 20 years of age, who saluted me by giving me the hand as an old acquaintance. There were besides some other young ladies, relations and acquaintances of Mrs M[ahs], as well as her 3 brothers and a russian gentleman, sent by the russian government to England for the purpose of getting constructed for the river Wolga two steamers. I was particularly pleased with the familiar conversation of these good folks, but especially with that of the four young ladies, with whom I was continually
<106> engaged in verbal intercourse. They confessed me candidly, that the fair sex in England is very fond of foreigners [402]), but particularly of those, who are bold and easy in their conversation. The character of the landlord is usually analogous / resembling (to) that of his servant, and upon entering the house of any person there may be formed already some idea of his character according to the reception and demeanour (behaviour) of the servants. Just thus the english ladies judge the russian nation agreeably to the opinion they entertain of our emperor, who has been here in England some years
<107> ago, and with whom all have fallen in love [403]). The ladies in the family of Mr

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402) I know of no example in literature that shows that the english ladies had any preference for non english man. On the contrary I feel that the british of that period were just as xenophobic as all other european nations. Rule Britannia (1740)

> The nations not so blest as thee
> Must, in their turn, to tyrants fall;
> While thou shalt flourish, great and free,
> The dread and envy of them all.
> Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves!

My Native Land by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)

> Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land!
> Whose heart hath ne'er witin him burn'd
> As home his footsteps he hath turn'd
> From wandering on a foreign strand?

403) If the ladies really thought so well about Nikolaas I is something we can wonder about. Since 1827 there was tension between Great Britain and Russia since both wanted to be a major influence in the Ottoman empire. To better this situation Nikolaas I send, in May 1839, his oldest son, Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich, to England. Lincoln p. 215. "His visit left a favourable impression upon his host and improved the atmosphere between the two powers. 'I was filled with admiration for his bearing, his reserve, his easy manner and, at the same time, his kindness, which proclaimed itself in every word and in all of his manners' wrote di Borgo. At the same time, the gracious nature of the Grand Duke's English hosts led them to cease all attacks against Russia and Russian policy in the press during his visit." From June 1 to 4, 1844 Nikolaas I him self visited London and Winsor. Lincoln pp. 221-222. "Nicholas had arranged it so that the British had just less than

M[ahs] prided themselves upon saying many good thing of our sovereign, whose kindness, benevolence, liberality, generosity, beauty and imposing regard most sincerely preoccupied them in his favor [favour]. They told me that every respectable english family was proud upon and very much pleased in receiving as a son in law a foreigner, who as well in scientific point of view, as respecting manners and customs always pleased them much better than their own countrymen. On this occasion I could infect not refrain from lamenting at the singular and little encouraging
<108> deportment of our Moscovian ladies towards strangers. In fact the Moscovian ladies despise all foreigners and bear towards them such an antipathy and hatred, that for all worlds they should not like to get married with any one else than with one of their nation, with a Russian [404]). Sometimes I could not help smiling at the somewhat ridiculous conversation of the Liverpool ladies who seemed to boast themselves in uttering a few words broken french with a shocking accent, asking me at the same time, whether our Moscovian ladies knew anything else than the russian language, this barbarous tongue, as they expressed themselves. In this instance I deemed it my
<109> agreeable duty to defend my favorites [favourites], the talented Moscovian ladies and state [stated] , that I should most wilfully dare a wager of any amount, they might think proper, that the Moscovian ladies are the most skilful in the world, speaking with the utmost fluency four languages which is no where to be found, neither in Europe nor Asia & America [405]). I found much pleasure in adding, that our Moscovian ladies exhibit an equally gratifying evidence of their ability in those arts and sciences, which are calculated to serve as an embellishment of and usefull [useful] entertainment in the society of common life; I

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forty-eight hours in which to prepare for his arrival. Nicholas thus arrived at Woolwich on 1 June, travelling incognito as 'Count Orlov'. Once in England's capital, he did not go to Buckingham Palace, where Queen Victoria had prepared rooms for him, but went immediately to the Russian Embassy at Ashburnham House. Although it was already well past midnight by the time he settled in his rooms, Nicholas requested pen and paper and immediately dispatched a note to the Prince Consort saying that he wished to meet the Queen at her earliest convenience. For even a visiting monarch to awaken the Prince Consort in the early-morning hours may well appear both inconsiderate and rude, as, in fact, it was." In 1853 Britain and Russia went to war at the Crimea.

404) Ludwig. pp. 82-83 as well as Meyer K&F pp. 140-141 tell us that Schliemann had his first disappointing experience with a russian lady in 1847. From this communication I however get the feeling that he already had, unsuccessfully, tried to get closer to them in 1846.

405) It's remarkable to see that Schliemann was so much in favour of "intelligent" ladies. This was rather uncommon in his days. Ehrenreich, Barbara and English, Deirdre; For her own good, 150 years of Experts' advice to Women. Pluto Press 1973. p. 115. "Dr Edward H. Clarke's book Sex in Education, or a Fair Chance for the Girls was the great uterine manifesto of the nineteenth century. ... Clark reviewed the medical theories of female nature - the innate frailty of woman, the brain-uterus competition - and concluded, with startling but unassailable logic, that higher education would cause women's uteruses to atrophy! Armed with Clarke's arguments, doctors agitated vociferously against the dangers of female education. R.R. Coleman, M.D. of Birmingham Alabama thundered this warning: Woman beware. You are on the brink of destruction: You have hitherto been engaged in crushing your waists; now you are attempting to cultivate your mind: You have been merely dancing all night in the foul air of the ball-room; now you are beginning to spend your mornings in study. You have been incessantly stimulating your emotions with concerts and operas, with French plays, and French novels; now you are exerting your understanding to learn Greek, and solve propositions in Euclid. Beware!! Science pronounces that the woman who studies is lost."

mean their extraordinary skilfulness [skilfullness] in
<110> playing on the piano, dancing amusement etc. I undertook the defence with such an ardour, that the Liverpool ladies sat stupefied and ashamed, feeling in themselves their extreme inferiority for either do they not like to take the pains of developping [developing] their capacities or they are not endowed with any. Mr. M[ahs] lives infect very happily together with his little english wife and one child, which constitutes the fortune of the happy couple. After dinner, which finished at abt eleven o'clock, I took leave under the congratulations of the family and their wishes for a prosperous journey. The next morning I rode away at an early hour,
<111> after having paid for my night's lodging and breakfast 8/8 d, which is tremendously dear [expensive]. The servants in inns in England do seemingly not get any salary, their fees, or pot [?] money due [to] them being always added to the bill's amount. Reaching Manchester at abt 9 o'clock, I endeavored [endeavored] directly to transmit Mr Troost's lines of recomendation [recommendation] to and to get admittance in some Twist manufactures. I viewed all apartments of this important line of manufacturing, which I felt a great interest in doing; first Cotton is pressed by a machinery, getting thus the shape of wats [mats ?], afterwards it is brought into the spinning machineries; is spun at first roughly
<112> but always finer and finer till at last it assumes the wished for thickness and quality. For the purpose of manufacturing Twist, they usually employ women [406]), who with their thin fingers are better than man, able to fulfill [fulfil] the obligations connected with the spinning. Having taken the most accurate view, which circumstances would alow I went to the manufacturers, availing myself of the opportunity to talk with them abt the Twist trade in order to ascertain, whether their is any possibility for us to transact direct business with them, avoiding thus the high charges of the Manchester commissionagents, and whether I could induce them to consign their merchandise to our care for sale.
<113> The Twist trade has hitherto been carried on by the Manchester consignees, and the manufacturers therefore replied somewhat reluctantly to my questions concerning above particulars [407]). By executing direct orders the manufacturers spoil the trade of and take away the bread from the commission agents, who in such cases of course would renounce their connexion [connection] with the manufacturer and never purchase from him again. If we procured to the manufacturers direct reimbursement, they would not hesitate to operate upon orders, but on such occasions they won't sell at anything else, than at the highest quotations, and thus, he who transmits orders, is entirely abandoned to the will of the uncivilized
<114> manufacturers, who do neither know any thing abt foreign trade, nor abt

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406) I n 1901 there worked 27.159 people in the Manchester cotton industry of which 20.276 were woman.

407) Since the eighteenth century there were strong ties, in England, between the merchants and the producers. Cole pp. 23-24. "The merchants employed substantial numbers in scouring and sorting raw wool, in filling, and in certain finishing processes; but they did not, save quite exceptionally, carry on the main processes of manufacture in establishments of their own. Commonly, they bought the wool raw and gave it out to be spun by cottagers for a piecework price, received it back and gave it out to be woven, and then perhaps gave it out again to be bleached or dyed. The men and women who worked for them on these terms were not legally in their employment; they received a payment for services rendered, rather than a regular wage. But they were, to all intents and purposes, employees, most of all where the merchants owned and hired out the looms on which the weavers worked. In some cases, however, the weaver who made his bargain with the merchant was himself a small master, employing hired labour as well as members of his family."

arithmetical pursuits. If I hat granted liberal advances of $^{3}/_{4}$ or $^{7}/_{8}$, I should have found the one or the other manufacturer inclined to make us consignments of Twist, but as we don't exactly know how the various quality of the different manufacturers are liked in Moscow and not being able to get accurate information as to the standing means and character of the manufacturers, we must judge it expedient to forgo the pleasure of dealing with them. The competition in the Twist line being very great in Moscow, and it requiring thourough [thorough] knowledge it would be
<115> for us a matter of great difficulty to succeed quickly by representing a new Manchester consignee firm, which hitherto never send goods to Russia. We must therefore leave matters and things to themselves and watch for an opportunity, which perhaps later may present itself. Having spent the day in inspecting manufactures and talking with the priors, I attended at night the "Queens theatre", which to be sure is the worst I ever saw [in] my life; the arrangements made for the public as well as the stage itself were most roughly made, whilst the music and actors were shaking; and if this were all, no; having unfortunately got a place in the upper box, I was most disgustingly tormented by
<116> the unfortunate distorted of whom there were more than fourty [forty], who behaved themselves most indecently squeezing themselves against men and knocking them as if little babies. Not recollecting what was the name of the play, I limit myself stating, that there was represented a sailor's life; he was to be hanged for having struck his captain, when on the point of execution there was received contradictory command & the man released. Never my life dit I see more dissoluteness temptation and seduction than in Manchester. Almost every lady, whom I saw walking about, or standing in houses or stalls bore in his
<117> shocking exterior the marks of dissoluteness, self abuse and consequently thereupon loss of physical powers [408]). The next morning 5th of November I-set of for London, via Birmingham, where we stopt [stoped] for some hours; I drew advantage from the opportunity in taking a superficial view of the city of B[irmingham] which does not present any feature of peculiar interest. On a large market place in the midst of the town, I saw a statue of Lord Nelson, he was leaning on a man of war and before him lay the ship's cable coiled together. In B[irmingham] are many manufactures of brasswork. Unfortunately I went by the slow train, and was therefore alas compelled to spend
<118> 14 hours on a distance, which by the express train can be made in only 6 hours. Not yet sufficiently punished by the slowness of our proceeding, I was in fact very much annoyed by the disagreeable society, which I was to suffer in the carriage; one of the passengers challenged every person and rendered himself thus very ridiculous. Arriving at nine o clock in the evening, I took an outside place on an Omnibus and got myself conducted to gregory's commercial Hôtel and Boarding House, Fountain Court Cheapside N29, which was

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408) That the social condition in those early industrial cities were bad is common knowledge. See for instance: Engles, Friedrich; Conditions of the Working Classes in England in 1844. If this, in a direct sense was totally thanks to economic exploitation is however some what disputed. Cole p. 59. "On balance, it is not easy to say whether, up to the 1840s, the Industrial Revolution had made things better or worse in a purely material sense for the working class as a whole. But by 1850, at least, it is safe to say that the working class as a whole was in a material sense substantially better off than it had been at any time in the preceding century." We have to be conscious that the largest part of the early industrial labourers had originally been agricultural labourers. They were raised in the traditions of the small country villages and had to live in large cities were these traditions had become useless. The work in the factories asked a discipline that was alien to these people. In there change to becoming factory labourers the agricultural labourers lost there social context, there most important values became useless, and so they lost there hold on life. It is not until the end of the century before they become a unit, with there own values and traditions, again.

recommended to me by a gentleman at Liverpool [409]). The next morning I went out in order to see the beautiful town London, for fearing
<119> that Messes J Hy Sch[röder] might not yet have got the necessary information from their prior at Hamburg, respecting the arrangement to be made between us with them, I did not wish to intrude upon them before Monday 9th. The London streets are for the most part broad and well paved, affording on each side to the convenience of footpassengers a broad footpath made from long flat stones; the houses three and four stories high present a pretty neat appearance, although for the most part they are not covered with chalk or color [colour]. Taking into consideration the vast multitude of the London inhabitants and the great number of manufactures
<120> it is not to be wondered at, that the city is always envolved [enveloped ?] in smoke and fog, which at this season of the year is some times very intense and causes many misfortunes, it being sometimes even impossible to look from one side of the street to the other. The most striking appearance present to the stranger the crowded London streets, the footpaths on both sides are at all times encumbered by innumerable footpassengers, who however don't obstruk [obstruct] the one the other, because every body keeps to the right hand. The streets themselves are always throngedly [strongly ?] crowded with omnibusses, cabs, hackney coaches, carts and vehicles of thou-
<121> sand different sorts, which move forward in uninterrupted succession [410]). To facilitate the intercourse of the London inhabitants upwards of 900 omnibuses are plying in the town in all possible directions and afford at little expense the opportunity of being carried from one end to the other. Hackney coaches and cabriolets now licensed in London are more than 2800. Following the guidance [guide] [411])of London, which I bought the other day, I went straight on to "Charing cross", a vast place, surrounded by most magnificent buildings.

In the middle of the squire I found two fountains, who landed in lively lakes, At the bottom of the squire
<122> elevated a pillar of 200 feet hight. This monument is erected in the honour of Lord

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409) Next to this journal Schliemann used during his trip a small note book, that now is to be found in the Gennadius Library in file D2. In this we find the following note: "Gregri's boardinghouse fountain court cheap side."

410) Capadose p. 22. "... and so we road for the first time in a cap through the streets of this metropolis. It was unthinkable to drive fast, since this street connects with the much visited Thames-street, Fleet-street and Strand, which are literally over filled with carriages, omnibuses, carts and pedestrians that go in all directions, ..."

411) Probably Leigh's New Picture of London: or, a view of the political, religious, medical, literary, municipal, commercial, and moral state of The British Metropolis: presenting a brief and Luminous Guide to the stranger on all subjects connected with general information, business, or amusement. Since Schliemann here suddenly uses a french word and soon afterwards switches to this language it's also possible that he used a french guide. Lake, J.W.; Guide de l'étranger à Londres ou description générale de cette ville. I doubt this a bit since Schliemann wrote: "which I bought the other day." It's even possible that he used a totally different guide, that has escaped me, since non of these guides made an absolute identification possible.

Gustave Doré; A City Thoroughfare

Nelson, who's bronze statue is situated on top of the pillar [412]). Next to the admiral is standing a large ships-cable, on which he rests his hand. This pillar makes out an impressive statue and enlarges the beauty of Charington Cross, on which it is situated. When I left Ch[arington] Cr[oss] I went left to enjoy the beautiful view, that is given by the house of parliament that is under construction [413]).
<123> Never in my life I saw a more impressive building and very attractive and very nice at the first view. The exterior of this enormous building has the imprint of the gothic style. The roof is not jet ready and at the moment invisible through innumerable little towers [414]), the front gable is decorated from all sides. At this moment the whole palace is covered in

412) Capadose p. 26. "In the middle of Trafalgar-square is situated Nelsons collum of bronze, of which the capital is of granite together with the eighteen feet high statue, that not until some years ago was placed on it, ... It is not yet finished, but some sea-battles are to be seen on the pedestal. More impressive I found the beautiful and rich fountains, with there wide basins, that one finds in this place in front of the building of the National-gallery."

413) The House of Parliament was build between 1837 and 1868 under the direction of Charles Barry (1795-1860) and his son Edward Middleton Barry. The river wall was started in 1837, but it was not until 1840 that the first stone of the building was laid. Though the House of Lords was used in 1847, it was not until 1852 that the house was formally opened by the queen.

414) Schliemann here used the word "torrats" which I have read as "tourelle".

wood. The walls are covered with thousands of beautiful, long collums and small, meaningful, statues.
<124> The house is surrounded by a fence of wood, of which the door is closed. I could not get admission, not even when I offered money. Directly behind the parliament is situated Westminster Abby, the ancient church, of which the exterior surprises the view of the foreigner. I entered the church and asked the sexton if I could view the interior. He answered confirming and showed me all the remarkablelities that are to be seen here, after the service, that was going on, had finished.
<125> Following the directions in my guide to London, I went through many a street and finally came to Vauxhall bridge, which I crossed after having payed a penny. This bridge is the most beautiful of London. It is build out of stone and forms a brought and practical road for carriages and an easy crossing for pedestrians. While I followed the directions in my guide I came through a number of beautiful streets, that showed a lot of specialities. Finally I came to a park, called Hydepark. A beautiful stone arch
<126> serves as entrance gate, behind which one finds a second gate, again very high, on which a nice equestrian statue is placed, which depicts the Duke of Wellington. This statue has been good for many insignificant remarks by which it is made ridiculous in the newspapers, especially Punch was constantly filled with sarcasm [415]). After I had seen this statue with my own eyes, I have to admit that I never saw anything more beautiful in bronze and I am afraid that I have to contradict all ridicule.
<127> From what I had heard about the London parks I expected beautiful, with avenues intersected, forests, but those are not to be found in the London parks. These give in essence a country like impression, with large fields, intersected by beautiful, with threes bordered, roads, that form avenues. Time and again one sees beautiful ponds, were one can see swans and other aquatic birds. Opposite of the entrance
<128> I found a very large statue, made out of twenty cannons of each 24 pound, erected in the honour of the Duke of Wellington and his partners in the war. Close to the park I found the palace of the Duke of Wellington and that of Baron Rothshield and of thousands of other important persons. Not far from there I found a stone pillar, very high and erected in the honour of the Duke of Wellington, who is depicted by an enormous bronze statue, that is placed on top of this monument.
<129> I went there and saw that one could enter for six sous, that I did and I went upstairs. By way of a revolving stairway in the middle of the pillar. It was not really beautiful, since to my regret the view, from the top of the pillar, was hindered by a thick fog. The hight is so

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415) Price, R.G.G.; A History of Punche. London. 1957. The first issue of Punch appeared on July 17, 1841. p.23. "The standard of writing and pithiness varied very much from item to item. The political material was, on the whole, keener than the social. Though Punch attacked separate abuses, it had no programme and no philosophy." p. 31. "Punch's appeal at first was to the lower-middle class ..." p. 48. "Punch grew less political after its early years and by the end of 1845 it was only occasionally that articles of any length dealt with politics." The star writers of this period were Jerold and Thackeray. pp. 80-81. "Typical of the tone was a sharp attack on the delay in completion of the Wellington memorial, by Shirley Brooks. A jeering account of the prematurely released design by a sculptor described as Baron Marrowfatti included this: 'Well, before the sham doors is to be a figure of victory - outside mind - through the Duke instead of keeping victory away from him was usually very much at home with her. This, however, is less consequence as the Duke himself is to be outside his own mausoleum, indeed to be perched on top of it. For this there are two good artistic reasons. Were the Duke inside we could not see him and secondly he cannot be put inside because the mausoleum doors are sham ones. The effect would seem to be that of a lady weeping against the front door of a house while the party she is bewailing has got out on the roof."

much that the objects on the ground seemed unimportant objects to me. After supper I returned to my hotel and somewhat leter I went to the Drury lane theatre [416], were <130> they played "the maid of Artois". This is the most beautiful theatre of London. The public interior is, just like the decorations, made very beautifuly. The ground floor is very wide and above it are four, in all kind of ways decorated, balconies. In the middle of the theatre I found a large chandelier, that was lighted by hundreds of gas lamps. Gas flows well in this country and that is why they use it very profitable instead of candles [417].
<131> The rooms of the poor labourers, as well as those of the rich are equipped with a gas connection and are lighted by this product. After the performance of the "maid d' Artois" which piece I especially liked, one gave a ballet, in which two ladies showed there special

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416) The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, The first theatre at this site was first build in 1663 and that makes it the oldest still existing theatre in Britain. Between 1737 and 1843 only patented theatres were allowed to give performances. Only Drury Lane and Coventgarden had such a patent. The rest of the London theatres fought there illegality by giving musical performances. The level of what was shown was not really to high. Besant, Walter; London in the nineteenth century. 1909. p. 193. "The two Temples of Art, where tight-rope walkers and dancing elephants ..." With the abandonment of the patent system there came more theatres and there level went up. Besant p. 186. "... that the theatres are now kept entirely free from the woman who clustered about the foyers ..." Now it also became clear that public interest lay somewhere else. Besant p. 214. "The quarter of a century which has witnessed their [music-halls or variety theatres] growth has witnessed the destruction of the old opera-house in the Haymarket, which existed for two centuries, and the retirement of the two leading playhouses, Covent Garden and Drury lane, into the second rank ..." The interior that Schliemann saw was build in 1836-37. Sheppard, F.H.W. ED.; Survey of London Vol XXXV. University of London 1970. pp. 65-66. "the circular ceiling was given a ground of soft cream colour and adorned with emblematic cameo medallions, supported by light gold enrichments radiating towards the centre and connected by festooned garlands of flowers. Round the edge were eight large lunettes, apparently open to the sky, against which were posed groups of children symbolizing the theatrical arts. The cove was separated from the ceiling by a white fret on a lavender ground, and divided into compartments of various colours, ornamented with emblematical devices and bunches of flowers, with gold relief. The Corinthian columns flanking the proscenium were finished in burnished gold, relieved with white, and the box parapets between them had richly gilt ornaments on a crimson velvet ground. The first circle parapet was painted with scenes from Shakespear's plays, separated by gilt dwarf pilasters on a white ground. The second circle parapet was divided by gilt enrichment into panels, alternately wide and narrow, the former containing a raffle-foliage scroll with birds, and the latter having grotesque masks on a maroon ground. The gallery parapet was painted with a continuous frieze of dancing figures holding wreaths, and festoons with musical trophies." In 1847 the building was totally redecorated.

417) Gas was first used for lightning in London in 1807. The production was monopolised and with its success the prices rose sharply. This was not ended until the Metropolitan Gas Act of 1860. We can wonder if it was really used by the poor if we look to an other everyday commodity, water. Besant pp 316-326. "The worst feature about all these slums of 1850 was the scarcity of water. That is to say, water was laid on, but not turned on except for a very short time every day, and on sunday not at all." Not everybody was as positive about gas as Schliemann. The British Museum never used it. Miller, Edward; That Nobel Cabinet, a history of the British Museum. 1973 pp. 254-255. "The question of lighting the Museum by gas had been gone into thoroughly in 1861. The Trustees had approached James Braidwood, the Superintendent of the London Fire Brigade, for expert advice. He was absolutely against any use of gas. In no circumstances would it be safe, for there was constant risk of fire, or even explosion."

ability in dancing on the tips of there toes and in turning around like lightning. I left before this piece had ended to escape from the unpleased bustle, in which thieves find the opportunity to perform there profession [418].
<132> The next morning I went, after breakfast, on foot to the "Thames Tunnel", a wonderful passage that passes under the river Thames [419]. After having covered a large distance, that partly was inhabited by the poor [420], I finally arrived at my destination. To enter in the subterranean passage I had to pas a kind of office, just like at the railway station. One is not allowed to enter before one has payed a contribution of 1 sous. Two large revolving stairways start behind this office, together they build
<133> a large round space. As a result of the darkness, that reigns here, these stairs are lighted, day and night, by gas. After having descended 76 steps the eye is surprised by the beautiful sight of two subterranean passages, that are lighted by innumerable gas flams, which are situated on four sides. The stone wall which separates the passage, is interlard with openings, in which are all kinds of little shops and shop windows. In the majority of these shops one sells pictures and little paintings of the subterranean passage.
<134> I bought in one of these shops a small glass in the shape of a telescope. When one looks through one of the bottoms of this glass one sees different views of the Thames Tunnel, as it was build, the entrance and one filled with gas lighted pedestrians. The Thames Tunnel is almost not used except by foreigners and I believe that this enlarges considerably to the proceeds, than every pedestrian pays one pound sterling on top of the contribution of 1d. The inhabitants of London almost make no
<135> use of this passage, probably because it is situated so far from the centre, probably by the difficulty of going in and out of the entrance, probably by the bad air that is in it. After leaving the Th[ames] T[unnel] I went by boat to the old fortifications of "London

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418) This theatre was situated in one of the worst parts of London. Jerrold Blanchard; London a Pilgrimage 1872. p. 158. "In the street market of Drury Lane the mark of misery seems to be upon every man, woman and child." Besant p. 271. "Another truly dreadful place was Drury Lane and its courts and by-streets. The spot is a slum still [1909], ... Godwin [editor of the Builder] writes in 1853 - there was no sewer at all in this part: the houses were so crowded that there were no back yards, and cesspools had to be constructed actually under the houses!"

419) In 1825 one started with the construction of this tunnel. Unfortunately the geological foundation of this project was some what faulty. In 1828, when was more or less half way, this project came to a temporary hold by a catastrophical break through of the river. In 1835 it was started up again. In the nest six year the river broke through an other four times. In 1841 the tunnel, that started at Wapping, finally reached Rotherhitse, on the other side. Officially it was opened in 1843. For some time it was successful as a new world wonder, but in the end it was an economical failure. In 1866 it was soled to the East London Railway who turned it into a rail tunnel.
Capadose p. 108. "Those unhappy people [the shop keepers] are constantly in this unhealthy atmosphere, were they never see the light of day. I am sure that this in the long run is bad for there bodies, since those need the natural light, like the soul needs the shining sun of justice, under which wings there is healing."

420) Jerrold p. 29. "Through shabby, slatternly places, by low and poor houses, amid shiftless riverside loungers, with the shipping-littered Thames on our right; we push on to the eastern dock between Wapping and down Shadwell. Sreets of poverty-marked tenements, gaudy public-houses and beer-shops, door-steps packed with lolling, heavy-eyed, half-naked children; low-browed and bare-armed women greasing the walls with their backs, and gossipping the while such gossip as scorches the ear; bullies of every kind walking as masters of the pavement -all sprikled with drunkenness- compose the scene, ..."

Tower", who are partly destroyed by fire some forty years ago. After paying 1 shilling I went in. The thick walls of more than fifteen foot, as well as the age of this building, surprise the foreigner [421]). I entered a hall that was filled with antique cavalry weapons. <136> The floor is filled with a row of 25 figures on horseback, dressed in the different kinds of armour of the past centuries. Behind these knights hang a series of banners, each baring a date and the name of such or so king or knight, the person that is presented by the figure underneath. The walls and the ceiling are decorated by a large number of arms, who are ingeniously put together to form beautiful patterns and mottos. Turning to the right I saw a small room with on both sides cupboards, in one of which
<137> were locked up all kinds of firearms from the period in which they were just invented. The other cupboard contained the remarkable war costumes of the Chinese [422]). After this, one showed me the "Queen Elizabeth's armoury", in which were a large number of weapons from before the invention of gunpowder. I among others saw the armour of a holly knight. This armour is, as they tolled me, the oldest of the total tour. Next one brought me to the hall of the crown jewels, of which one estimates that they value three million pound sterling. I found these jewels displayed like an amphitheatre in the middle of
<138a> the hall on a table. The imperial crown, of which the cap is made of velum, is placed on top. As tools [423]) one has two gold sceptres, a boat in the shape of an eagle with spread wings, a fountain of gold and a large number of other valuable objects of which I have the description in my guide of London [424]). After I had seen all that they show during the tour, I went to Saint Paul's cathedral, the beautiful building that is situated in the centre of the city. When it comes to size, extensiveness and architectural beauty, this church forms
<139a> an object of admiration, that is only surpassed by the church of Saint Peter in Rome [425]). The impression, that the impressionable exterior makes on the foreigner, is highly enlarged as one enters the church. The enormous hight of the vault, as well as the large number of pillars on both sides, make that one falls silent at first view. The dome rests on eight enormous pillars, who each are more than forty feet in section. I told the saxon that I wanted to see it all. I had to pay 4,5 shilling. Than he brought me to the library and than to the room in which
<138> one finds the wooden model, by which it is build, of the church. Next one brought me to an even stair that is hanging without mentionable viable support. Next I was brought to the

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421) Capadose p. 102. "I am not sure that I ever saw a building, that by its dark and sad appearance, was more in harmony with the murder and bloodthirst that went on inside its walls ..."

422) Acomplete guide for visiting London. 1978. "... the new armouries with atmour from the Orient and of primitive people."

423) Schliemann wrote "outier" which I read as "outil" or "outillage"

424) Leigh's 1830 p. 176. "The Jewel Office is a dark and strong stone room, in which are kept the crown jewels, or regalia. The imperial crown, which is enriched with precious dtones of every description, was newly modelled for thr coronation of his Majesty in 1821. Here, likewise, are preserved the other emblems of royalty used at the coronation of our sovereigns, such as the golden org, the golden sceptre and its cross, the sceptre with the dove. St. Edward's staff, state salt-cellar, curtana, or sword of mercy, golden spurs, armilla or bracelets, ampulla or golden eagle, and the golden spoon. The visiter is likewise shown the silver font used at the baptism of the Royal family, the state crown worn by his Majesty in parliament, and a large collection of ancient plate."

425) In 1846 Schliemann had not yet been in Rome.

Gustave Doré; Ludgate Hill

"Whispering gallery", a beautiful gallery on the hight of the dome. This gallery caries the name whispering gallery, while it is build in such a way that every word, that one softly speaks, even when one sings softly to the wall, is heard all along the gallery as the voice of thunder [426]). Looking down the interior of the cathedral gives a beautiful view.
<139> Directly under the dome the floor is made out of black and white alabaster stones, that make a beautiful circle. Above the whispering gallery rises the dome more than a hundred feet. The inside is beautifully decorated. After I had satisfied my eyes I climbed the belltower in which hangs the large london bell, with which one calls. My guide especially pointed my attention to the fact that this bell weights 11.000 To [?]. In accordance with the truth I did not keep my self in and remarked with a smile
<140> that we have one in moscow that weights 48.000 To. I again payed two sous and one allowed me to clime to the upper part of the tower, that is surrounded by a high, brought gallery. The city of London is at all times covered with a thick fog, as specially in this season. I could not see far. The streets close by, filled with pedestrians and all kinds of vehicles, offered a nice view. The hight is so big, that the people below looked like little elegant birds
<141> as a consequence of the enormous hight of the dome. When it is clear one can see very far, which never happens, only a small number of times it is clear to one side in summer. The saxon who accompanied me invited me to go even higher. Even while that is a dangerous something, the stairs were very narrow and steep like the wall, I desired to satisfy my curiosity and I went up, with the help of ropes that were fastened to the wall. After many a danger I entered the copper ball. It was to pointy
<142> for a stair and I was forced to climb by way of copper rods to what pulled my attention. The beauty of the boll is such that I could keep my self standing without any

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426) Leigh's 1830 p. 120. "The Whispering Gallery takes its name from the well-known reverberation of sound; so that the siftest whisper is accurately and loudly conveyed to the ear at the distance of 100 feet, the diameter of the dome in this part. If the door be shut forcibly it produces a strong reverberation similar to thunder."

trouble. Finally I went down again, a bit tired, than I had gone up and down quit a number of stairs. Then I went to the subterranean vaults, were nothing escaped my attention - in the centre of a vault is placed a stone circle, to keep the memory of general Nelson alive. There are many monuments buried in the debris, In a alcove, in that vault, I found many a metal <143> statue that was damaged in the fire of 1666. After I had viewed the vaults I went up again to see the cathedral her self. With the help of my guide of London, in which the monuments in the cathedral are pointed out and carefully described, I made my round. All walls are dignified by sculptured alabaster monuments, erected in the honour of those that have fallen in english service or to the memory of other distinguished persons, that distinguished them self by there talent and the services that they gave there fatherland. Noticing the large amount of monuments I was filled
<144> with joy about the benevolence of the english government towards her subjects [427]). These art objects serve no purpose to the state, they only serve to propagate art and are a way by which the poor can make a decant living
Saturday evening (November 7) I went to a concert in the "Coventgarden" [428]), in the company of an other young man, who lived in the same hotel as I. The arrangement of the hall, were the concert was given, was completely different from everything, of this kind, I had seen up till then. In the centre of the hall
<145> one found the musicians. That part of the hall behind the musicians served as a room for refreshments, while the other part was taken possession of by the visitors. One tells that this sloping hall can consist more than 2500 people. It has four beautifully decorated balconies. The balconies just as the ground floor were filled with people. The man, or those persons that were not accompanied by a woman, preferred the ground floor, first it is cheaper there, it is only 1s and secondly while
<146> one is allowed to walk and move from place to place there, as much as one wants. Even if I have no knowledge of music, I have properly enjoyed my self during this concert. Accidently I met on the ground floor a young german, who for some time worked in

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427) Capadose p. 55. " I am ready to believe that national pride has played a large part in the erection of all these rich monuments, but the unselfish and noble way in which the memory of these man, that have served the fatherland with credit, in this country is immortalised, shows again in a clear way that thankfulness as a major virtue in this excellent nation."

428) Covent Garden Theatre and the Royal Opera House. The first theatre at this location was build in 1731-32. Just like at Drewry Lane they ran into some trouble after the abandonment of the patent system. Sheppard p. 80. "... for three years, 1843-5, the theatre was virtually unused, apart from occasional short bookings." Schliemann saw it as it was in 1809. Sheppard pp. 96-97. "The appearance of the house is very imposing: the colour is a subdued yellow, relieved by white, and superbly enriched with gilding. Around the dress circle are wreaths inclosing the Rose of England, in burnished gold; the first circle displays the Thistle of Scotland, and the second circle the Shamrock of Ireland: and these three emblems are alternately placed, with fancy devices, in rich borderings, &c., in every part of the Auditory; which, from the reflection of the lights, gratifies the prevalent taste for splendour with one blaze of refulgence. The back and sides of the pit are decorated by representation of dark crimson drapery, as are the interiors of all the boxes; which produces a very effective contrast to the brilliancy of the front. The boxes are supported by small iron columns, fluted, and gilt. The ceiling, over what is called the slip boxes, exhibits panels of blue, relieved by white, and enriched with gold. The middle part of the ceiling is circular; in the centre of which, from s richly-gilded glory, surrounding a circle of golden lyres, &c., is suspended a chandelier of glass, of the most superb description; illumined by two circles of gas lights; the remainder of the ceiling is a light blue sky, relieved by delicate white clouding." After 1857 this theatre is called "The Royal Opera House."

Amsterdam as an extra help.

Gustave Doré; The Stalls/Covent Garden Opera

The next day, November 15, was a sunday. Nothing is so annoying as a sunday in England. The english pass this day in church, were they pray to the good lord and read in the holy book. They receive no visitors on sunday. The roads, that during the week are the stage of a never ending activity, are totally deserted.
<147> I saw nobody, that was not going to church, or they were foreigners, that did not know what to do, who roamed from one side of the city to the other. The small number of omnibuses (public vehicles), that were on the road to serve those that went to church, were used by few people. All shops are closed, there is no use to be on the road and all has the imprint of death. They advised me to see "Hampton Court" [429], near Greenwich, on twenty miles from London, on sunday. With this purpose I went a board the steam boat near London bridge, which brought me to Nineelms [Nine Elms Pier] to continue
<148> from there my trip by train. The steamboat carried me underneath all six bridges, that are build over the Thames. I found it very nice to see all these excellent bridges, by which construction the art of building seems to have used all her ingenuity. What especially pulled my attention, was the cast iron bridge, that is made up out of two enormous arches. It looks very dangerous to pas over this bridge, that seems to have been build much to weak, but no, it has proven to be very strong and very heavy vehicles can pas it without the least risk [430]. Oh, what a beautiful view on the city does one get
<149> during a trip on the Thames. Nothing is so beautiful as the house of parliament, which I defended already the other day. During the passage of the steam boat this palace presented it self in all her magnificence. It is impossible to give an accurate description of the impression, that the outside of this beautiful building and its situation on the side of the river, made on me. When we finally reached the wished for location, it was a great

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429) Hampton Court Palace. Since the death of George II no sovereign has lived here and it is now occupied mainly by Royal pensioners.

430) Capadose p. 34. " After this [Westminster Bridge] one sees the Hungerford Bridge, being a suspension bridge, made for some years of iron wire and iron chains, beautiful and tasteful; ..."

disappointment to learn, that the train did not leave and that the next train only left at 2.30 in the afternoon. I went to Westminster abby to see the inside. The service was on its way and I had no opportunity to satisfy my desire. I decided to stay
<150> the hear the sermon that did not take long. Westminster abbey looks like the church of St Pauls, just as beautiful as the last, that is to say very large and beautiful decorated. I was angry, while I was disappointed in my desires. I went home and past the rest of this beautiful sunday with different kinds of writing. On Monday morning, November 9, I went to Messrs. Schröder & Co., who had received a large number of letters for me, which came from everywhere. I searched excited if I had received a letter from Mr. W. A[lexceff] from M[oscow], but to my great regret it was not there. Of about all my relations in M[oscow] I became letters, while
<151> W. A[lexceff], who according to his promise and our connection was supposed to be the first to write, left me completely without news. Mr. Post invited me into his room were he conveyed to me that his house had nothing against trusting us with there agency in Moscow, under the condition, that we do no business with the connections of there old friend C.T. & Co. in St. P[etersburg] and that we will take no orders from these last. Further more he demanded that we took no commission on business that his house did with MPN. MF and BM. N & M & C in Moscow. On this I remarked that these houses could go on with there orders without cooperation from my side. Further more he told me, that
<152> his house especially believed in the orders that one entrusted to there care, while they never asked to much and so they could never give us more, than to those that worked so hard for there books and that we so would not get more than a half per cent for our trouble. I agreed to all without hesitation, taking into consideration, that it was the wish of Mr. A[lexceff] to obtain a good market for his yarn, by which he would obtain a large profit. I hurried to inform Mr. A[lexceff] about the, in my opinion, honest agreement with the London house. I also wrote to the Messrs B.H. S[chröder] & Co.
<153> in Amsterdam and asked them to send me an introduction and letter of recommendation to Messrs Greiff & Co. in Crefeld [431]). The Messrs. JH S[chröder] & Co. of Liverpool wrote very kindly to me and gave me a large number of model calculations and informed me that a package of cotton samples was send to the care of JH S[chröder] & Co. of which they would give me the particulars there. I answered them and thanked them and again asked to send me a model calculation for Bichromate, Campeche wood, etc. Tuesday morning I went to the "British Museum", that is spoken of very highly. After I was, with russian letters, noted in a thick book, one
<154> admitted me entrance for free [432]). The first hall that I entered, was filled with

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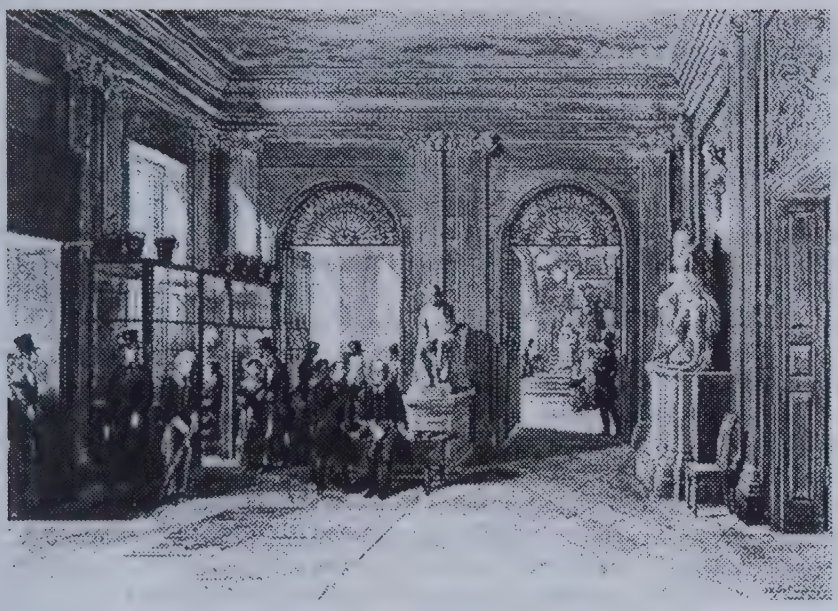
431) Gennadius Library no. 344
"Mr. Hy Schliemann from Moscow at the moment in London (this letter is addressed to J. Henry Schröder London). Amsterdam November 10, 1846
Here by you receive the wished for letter for Crefeld and we will be glad if it will give you results ..." The firm of "de Greiff & Co" was one of the most important silk weavers and traders of Krefeld.

432) Leigh's 1830 p. 288. "Persons who wish to see the Museum, must inscribe their names and places of abode in a book kept for that purpose; upon which they will be shown into the apartments." Corri, Stephen, Archives Assistant of the British Museum in a letter of 3/3/1997 to the author: "It should be noted that at the end of 1845 Montagu House (the original Museum sit) was demolished to make way for the current building, and the Visitors book was withdrawn from use, I would suspect due to the rapid increase in visitor numbers making such a system of recording admission impossible to operate.
Unfortunately the Visitors book has not survived, although I doubt very much that it would have been in place during 1846 as in fact the Museum although still open, would have been



George Scharf I; Entrance Hall of Montagu House, 1845

objects from China, a large number of weapons of these people, models of there vessels, there cloth and tools and the equipment for death. Next I went through rooms that were filled with birds. All kinds of the world. This nice and beautiful collection of birds, that every other perhaps had viewed with great admiration, I watched with great indifference and mainly so that I could say in Moscow that I had been in the British Museum as to pas my time profitable, since by other reasons
<155> I was to much in thought.

The Bird Gallery

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in a rather transient state due to the extensive remodelling of the galleries."

Next I went through a hall that was filled with thousands of different fishes, very small ones and very big ones. Next to the hall with the quadrupeds. One has them here from mouse to elephant, all erected with great care. The upper parts of these rooms were beautiful decorated. Next the hall with the mineralogical specialities. One has erected a large number of petrifactions here, among others many enormous bones, who for a long time are changed into stone, and who were found covered by earth. The enormous size of each of these bones <156> clearly shows, that they belonged to a race of animals, that not exist in our time and they have probably lived before the time that we connect with the creation of the earth. Next I viewed the curiosities from Egypt, that took more of my attention than anything I saw prior to that. I found that they had exhibited a large amount of egyptian coffins recovered in the pyramides and tombs of egypt. Those coffins contained the earthly remains of the ancient egyptian kings. Thanks to the balm and the herbs with which the corpses were perfumed and filled and the interesting way in which they were buried
<157> they have kept like they were on that day. Hardened by time and the extreme heat that they have in Egypt, they have become as hard as stone. These mummies, as they are called, are covered in a kind of shroud and look as if they are burned. The outside of the coffins is covered with hieroglyphics, that refer to the adventures and the moving of the spirit after death. The walls of this hall are covered with egyptian representations, refound in the ancient pyramids. The in stone cut representations represent the battles like they were in ancient times. Exhibited between the coffins, who are on both sides of the hall, is exhibited for the public
<158> a large amount of jewels, used by the ancient egyptians and found again in the pyramides that have been build by them. After I had needed a quarter of an hour to see it all I went into the hall with greek and roman vases. All these vases have a number. Thanks to the guide, that I had bought, I succeeded very well to recognize the right century that had brought them forwards and I investigated the one after the other and the way in which they had improved in time. I did not find it difficult to recognize the great progress, that the different people made bit by bit in there progression.
<159> Next I went down to see the exposition of the sculpture from the period in which it finds its origin. The hall is filled with egyptian sculpture. One sees there a large amount of stone coffins, covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphics, of which the scholarly gentleman sometimes have given translations in greek or hebrew, what makes those primitive inscriptions not less unreadable.I found lot of sphinxes, partly human, partly animal, of the same kind as one finds at the borders of the Neba in St. P[etersburg] [433]),
<160> in this hall, at the end of which an enormous head is placed. They also have a large number of roman busts and statues, for the largest part destroyed by the hardness of time as that has gone its way.

Since Schliemann finds his fame in the fact that he later became an archeologist it's worth the trouble to see if we can following him through the british museum. This museum finds its origin in the collection of Sir Hans Slone, which, after the death of its owner, was bought by the british government in 1753. Like all collections of that era it was in first instance made up out of curiosities. Basically it was to be divided in four parts: books, ethnic objects, natural historical objects and objects of classical art. In 1846, when Schliemann visited this museum, they were in a period of transition. They were constructing a new building and they had started to look at there collections in a more scholarly way.

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433) It seems that Schliemann was not conscious of the fact that "Les Description de L'Egypte" (1809) had started of the egyptian face of neo classicism and that the sphinxes he saw in the British Museum were part of the original sources of inspiration for those in St. Petersburg.

By entering this museum Schliemann had bought the "synopsis of the contents of the British Museum. Thirty-sixth edition. 1838" In it we can see how they were in the process of changing over from the exhibition of curiosities to the exhibition of scholarly ideas.

"The Flying Sword Fish (Nostistium) has distinct ventral fins, and the dorsal very high and long, which enables it to swim with such velocity that it can drive its beak through the stout oak planking of a ship. A fine specimen of this fish is in a Case over the Fire-place, and by the side of it a piece of oak plank pierced by the beak of a large fish of this species." [434])

While we here still see the importance of the curiosities we see a more scholarly way in the mineralogy department.

"The Long Gallery above the King's Library is appropiated to the collections of Mineralogy and Secondary Fossils, the arrangement of which is not yet completed. The system adopted for the arrangement of the minerals, with occasional slight deviation, is that of the Baron Berzelius, founded upon the electro-chemical theory and the doctrine of definite proportions, as developed by him in a memoir read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, in 1824." [435])

When we follow Schliemann with the help of the guide we have to realize that we don't know how far the halls that he visited were already effected by the changes that were going on. Up on entering the museum Schliemann immediately came eye to eye with the diversity that he could find in this museum. He does not tell us anything about it in his journal, but he probably must have seen the following objects:

"A statue in Marble of Shakspeare by Roubilliac
A gilt figure of Gaudma, a Burmese idol; and the symbolical representation of his foot.
Before the window on the left, adjoining the messenger's small room, is a fine Hippopotamus." [436])

Schliemann immediately went up stairs were he saw a large number of chinese object. As we have seen Schliemann was already in 1842 fascinated by this part of the world and tooled his sisters that wanted to go there. We can how ever wonder what he really knew about it or if he called everything exotic chinese.

"The upright cases round the room contain a series of artificial Curiosities from the less civilized parts of the world."

To get a good impression of what Schliemann saw and called chinese we have a look at a small number of the cases.

"Case 1. Esquimaux dresses, from Winter Island; ...
Case 5. A quiver formed of palm leaves, containing small poisoned arrows; ...
Case 9. Shelves 1 and 2. Vessels in various forms, from tombs of the aboriginal Peruvians .... The remaining Cases contain articles from the west coast of North America and the South

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434) Synopsis pp. 46-47

435) Synopsis pp. 93-94

436) Synopsis pp. 1-2

Seas, chiefly presented by Sir Joseph Banks, Captain James Cook, R.N. and Archibald Menzies, Esq. Many of them are figured in Captain Cooks Voyages." [437])

A very varied collection, but nothing from China. If this also was the case when Schliemann walked through this hall is not completely clear.

"A description of the Ethnogrphical collection as it then was appears in The British Museum, Historical and Descriptive of 1850. 'The Ethnographical room [is] an oblong appartment of considerable size, through much too small for its purpose, which is the collection of articles illustrative of the manners and customs of nations lying at a distance from our own, as well as of rude ancient races' The author, David Masson, who shows scarcely any of the prejudices commen at that date, speaks witheringly of the 'five paltry cases' deemed sufficient to contain examples of all the arts and crafts of the ancient civilisation of China and Japan. In his opinion there should have been separate rooms for the display of the antiquities of China, India and Japan and another for the arts and crafts of more primitive people." [438])

Next Schliemann visited room 12.

"In this apartment are the collections of British Birds, arranged according to Jenyns (Manual of British Vertebrate Animals, Cambridge. 1835) British Shells; a small collection of Birds' Eggs, and two tables with cards containing a series of External Organs of Insects, ..." [439])

He continued to room 13.

"The upright glazed Cases round the room contain the general collection of Birds. [440])
The Table Cases in the middle of the Room contain the general collection of Shells." [441])

The shells seem to have escaped Schliemann's attention, he only tells us about the birds. In his Journal he noted that they had all the birds of the world and if one reads the Synopsis one too gets the impression that it was a very large collection. However, the museum only exhibited part of its collection. In 1859, Richard Owen, superintendent of the natural history department, remarked the following about this collection:

"'there now stands, more or less crowded, a part only of the collection of birds, the rest being preserved, as unstuffed skins, in boxes or drawers.' The collection, fine as ir was, represented only about half of the known species of birds." [442])

Schliemann was not impressed and went on to room 11, were the fishes were and to room 9 and the Saloon were the quadrupeds were. Next he walked through the "long Gallery" were he

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437) Synopsis pp 3-7

438) Miller, Edward; that Noble Cabinet, a history of the British Museum. 1973. p. 222.

439) Synopsis p. 60

440) Synopsis p. 73

441) Synopsis p. 83

442) Miller pp. 239-240

saw the minerals. In this hall he too saw the fossils that seemed to interest him more. Animals that were supposed to have lived before the creation of the earth. This might sound a somewhat remarkable explanation for them, but it was less unusual in those days. To give the reader an idea of how general this idea was I'll give a double quotation by way of the dutch archeologist de. L.J.F. Janssen.

"... and that is why I gladly agree with the swedish naturalist and antiquarian [Sven] Nilson, were he writes: the investigation of nature has been able, by the examination of the pieces, that were hidden in the earth, of an animal world, that was destroyed long before the creation of man, ..., to present them almost alive to us." [443])

During the eighteenth century scholars had come to the conviction that fossils were the remains of plants and animals that had been turned to stone. By then all history was still to be found in the Bible, but this was no problem. Fossils were explained as victims of the great biblical flood. When Scheuchzer in 1726 came with a description of a large fossil, that in his eyes were the remains of a man, he called it "Homo diluvii testis". By 1840 the french Baron George Cuvier had come to the inside that there had been a number of groups of animals who had disappeared of the face of the earth in different periods. He came with an explanation for this fact in his book "Discours sur les révolutions de la surface du Globe et sur les changements qu'elles ont produits dans le règne animal." According to Cuvier there had been several catastrophes, by which whole groups of animals had disappeared, in the history of the world. Cuvier had no idea how the new animals, that took the place of the lost ones, came into being and never said anything definite about it, but in circles around him it soon became clear that there could only be one answer, there must have been more than one creation. God had created and destroyed and created again. And so the idea that fossils were the remains of a previous creation were not uncommon in 1846. We however have to realize that, concerning Cuvier's ideas there never was a popular debate like some years later after Darwin, in 1859, had introduced the idea of evolution and so we have to conclude that Schliemann must have had some interest in (popular) science or else he would not have known about this theory.
Next he went to the upstairs Egyptian room.

"The following short stement is merely intended to give a general idea of the contents of the Egyptian Room; the arrangements of which are only in progress." [444])

Schliemann was mainly interested in the mummy cases and the mummies and of those there really was a good number. I give a small selection of what is to be read in the synopsis.

"D.	Coffin of Penammon, prophet priest of Ammon; the outer coffin is over cases A. and B.
Q.	Inner coffin of Hasontiotf, Theban prophet priest of Ammon. The outer coffin, which is black, stands in the ante-room. The body with its linen cover is in case RR.
V.	Coffin of Otaineb.
	Prepared board with hieroglyphic inscriptions and drawing of Thothmes III.
AA.BB.CC.	Mummies and coffins.
DD.	Animal mummies; cynocephali, dogs, cats, cattle, and sheep.

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443) Janssen, Dr. L.J.F.; Oudheidkundige Verhandelingen en Mededeelingen I. Arnhem 1853. p.3.

444) Synopsis p. 215

EE. Animal mummies; ibis, hawks, fish, serpents, crocodiles, &c.
On the top of this case is the mummy of a large crocodile
HH. Coffin of Irioui, son of Selsol.
NN. Coffin and mummy of Tashbapem, daughter of Petkhons, porter of the temple of Ammon. The centre coffin of this mimmy is over the cases KK. and LL.
OO. Coffin and mummy of Kotbti, female attached to the worship of Ammon. The hair was found folded up under the head of the deceased.
QQ. Coffin and mummy of Har, incense bearer of the temple of Chnouph.
RR. Mummy of Harsontiotf, Theban prophet priest of Ammon, holding various sacerdotal offices.
Coffin containing mummy of Pi-rot-har noubsh, incense bearer of the temple of Khons." 445)

This list continues for an other couple of pages. It is clear, from his remarks in his journal, that Schliemann's knowledge of Egyptian antiquities was very shallow, but it's also clear from the descriptive list in the synopsis that he must have obtained that knowledge elsewhere. The synopsis gives no explanation of for instance the embalming process. So here too I get the impression that he must have had a certain interest in (popular) science. After spending 15 minutes in this room Schliemann went down stairs to the Gallery of Antiquities, First Room, Terracottas. It was as he told us, all objects were numbered.

"No. 1 A female statue, probably one of the Muses
No. 2 An Amphora
No. 3 A terminal head of the bearded Bacchus.
No. 4 A bas-relief, repesenting a combat between two Amazons and two Griffins." 446)

In total there are 83 numbers in the first room. The synopsis unfortunately here again gives us nothing but very short descriptions. There is absolutely no explanation in it for the fact that Schliemann soon could see from what century there were, let alone how he could see there development. The synopsis does not speak about these things. It is also not completely clear what Schliemann here means with development. It's almost as if he is talking about sequence dating, but this technic was not until 1890 thought up by Gustave Oscar Montelius and did not get it's name before Flinders Petrie published "Sequence in Prehistoric Remains" in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute in 1899. I guess that we have to understand the development that Schliemann here saw in a Winckelmannian way as an art-historic one. The large Egyptian head that made so much of an impression on Schliemann was probably:

"No. 15 A colossal head in red granite, from Carnak, found by Belzoni, in 1818. From Mr. Salt's collection."

There is however a second candidate.

"No 19. The head and upper part of a statue of Rameses the Great, brought from the ruins of the Memmonium, a building dedicated to Memnon, at Thebes. This fragment is composed of one piece of granite of two colours, and the face, which is in remarkably fine preservation,

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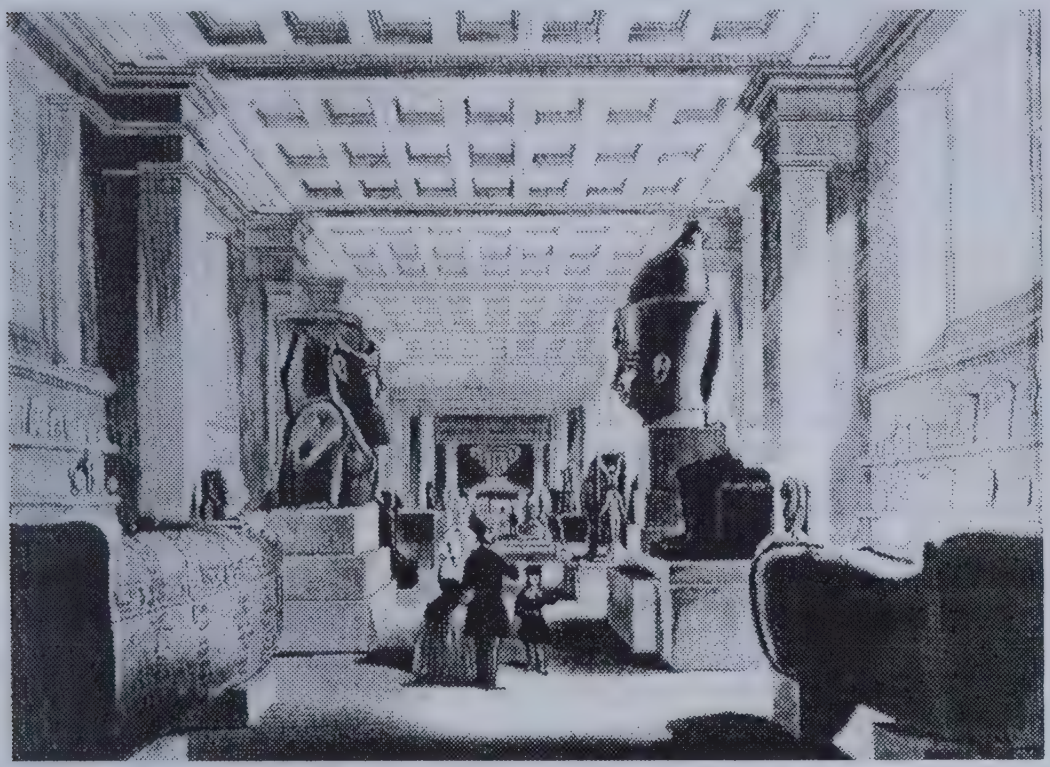
445) Synopsis pp. 215-218. I have left out all the names and information concerning the people through who the British Museum had obtained these objects.

446) Synopsis p. 139

is executed in a very admirable manner. Presented, in 1817, by Henry Salt, Eaq., and the late Louis Buckardt, Esq." [447])



The main Egyptian Sculpture Gallery

To see the roman busts Schliemann must have returned to the Gallery of Antiquities.

It's remarkable to see that someone that, as he tells us, already from his early youth on, was interested in Homer and Troy, missed a number of object in which we should expect him to be interested.

"No. 13 Head of Paris and Helen, in alto-relieve
No. 47 A head of one of the Homeric heroes. It is highly animated, and is looking upwards, apparently in great agitation.
No. 54 A bas-relief, representing Priam in the act of supplicating Achilles to deliver to him the bidy of his son Hector."[448])

It might sound some what childish, but there also were three highly important and famous objects, that we do not see in his journal and that he either did not see or made no impression on him. The Baberini or Portland Vase, The Elgin Saloon and The Rosetta Stone.

Now it might seem that Schliemann was highly struck by the Egyptian antiquities, but we can

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447) Synopsis pp. 204-205

448) Synopsis p. 155

wonder if this was more that the satisfaction of a one time curiosity. He visited no other collections in London. He could for instance have gone to the Sir John Soane Museum to see the sarcophagus that Belzoni in 1816 had discovered in Thebes, but he did not. The next time he saw Egyptian antiquities was in the Louvre and there, as we will see, he only gave them a very small description. It seems that by that time the excitement had gone.

Tuesday evening I spend in the company of B.U.T, the agent of MPNMF, which whom I had become acquainted in Holland. I pity the man that according to my opinion lives a very boring live. He stays out side the heart of the centre and the noise of the city, an enemy of all amusement and...

The last line of this page is un readable since it is blotted out by the wet ink of the last line of the next page.

<161> He likes an economical life and I do not think that he is inclined to spend much. On Wednesday I was occupied with different calculations and descriptions of all kind and in the evening I went to the theatre. En route I met an inhabitant of Moscow, the son of HUY. I asked him to accompany me to the performance, which he without hesitation did, after he had heard that his expenses were for me. We went to the "Royal Theatre" on the Heymarket [449]), of which I did not know what play they gave. He had largely kept me in Moscow, the city of my preferences. I was not very attentive
<162> during the performance, I saw no use in attention by what they gave. The theatre is beautifully decorated and is lighted by gas, but there is still a lot of conformity with the little theatre in Moscow, which I like better. There were a lot of young ladies, but not one that I liked; non of the faces made a good impression on me [450]). Thursday morning I took an early breakfast, I had resolved to go to Windsor Castle. At six thirty I took a place on the outside of an omnibus and
<163> left for the "Southwestern Railway" were I took a place to "Slough" station, that is situated near Windsor Castle. I liked the country side on both sides of the train, I saw nicely worked land intersected by beautiful forests. After I had finally arrived at Slough station, I hurried on foot along the beautiful road to the royal palace, at about two english miles. Windsor is a beautiful little village build on the side of a mountain, on top of which is build the palace, with its buildings and service apartments. While I had no entrance ticket I was not allowed to see the inside of the palace.
<164> This last one had to be obtained before hand in London. I made sure that I obtained one and so went intrepidly to ask for permission, which was allowed me at 11 o'clock. After I had

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449) Her Majesty's (formerly the King's) Theatre. The first theatre on this location was build in 1720. The building that Schliemann saw originated from 1821. Summerson, John; Georgian London. 1946 p. 241. "This theatre, ..., was a delightful and wholly successful building. The auditorium was rather old fashioned. It had straight sides and segmental end and was covered by a flat dime in pendentives. Palm-tree columns, ..., supported the ceiling and perscenium and the decoration consisted principally of a network pattern, raised and gilded, on the reddish-purple ground of the box fronts; the interior of the boxes were finished in maroon. The whole effect must have been gay and charming in the extreme and of all the Georgian theatres it is the Haymarket which one would most willingly recreate,"

450) It seems that Besant's remark that the theatre were "kept entirely free from the woman who clustered about the foyers" is not completely correct.

entered my name, in russian letters, as I am used to do, in the book [451]), I was lead about through the rooms of the empire, of which I found an accurate description in my guide of London. In the first room there was nothing personal. On the walls were excellent paintings of interesting contracts from the ancient past. After I had entered the second room, of which the walls on both sides were decorated with beautiful pictures, who
<165> depicted important persons from the past centuries and were made by the fantasy rich hand of the immortal ~~R~~ [452]) van Deyck, my views were totally put of when I saw (Elise A[lexceff]) Mrs. A[lexceff], standing at the end of the hall. My surprise was so great, that I stood silently for some minutes, I did not know what to think, what to do and I dared not move. My guide finally pulled me from my flattering dream, I neared the lady very closely and I convinced my self, again dumbfolded, that it was a painting of the countess of Croix [453]), who very much looks after Mrs. A[lexceff].

Van Dyck; Beatrice de Cusance, Princess de Cante Croix

It might be that while entering
<166> of the hall, my imagination was occupied by Moscow in general, and the family of

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451) In a letter from 20/11/1996 Miss Pamela Clark, Deputy Registrar of the royal archives, gave the following information to the author: "Unfortunately, I can find no reference in our records to Heinrich Schliemann's visit to Windsor Castle in 1846. From your description, it sounds as through he must have been asked to sign the Castle Visitors' Book, but, sadly, the nineteenth century Visitors' Books have not survived."

452) ~~R~~ gives me the impression that Schliemann at first wanted to give these paintings to Rembrandt, which would show that he had become contaminated with the dutch Rembrandt worship of those days. See also his description of Antwerp.

453) Here Schliemann probably describes van Deyck's portrait of Beatrice de Cusance, Princess of Cantecroix and Duchess of Lorraine. The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen. 1963. p. 101. No. 158. Plate 72. "Full-length, walking up a step and holding back a curtain with her right hand, while a small spaniel barks at her feet."

Mrs. A[lexceff] especial, what so ever, I was confused for the rest of the day. Even while I am not a connoisseur of paintings, I was, by the first painting that I ever experience, enchanted by the study of this beautiful exposition [454]). After having seen quit a number of rooms, decorated with beautiful paintings in all styles, I finally came in the armoury, where the ceiling, decorated with the arms of the first nights, recalls the days of there origin.
<167> In a frame in this hall I found the bust of the immortal Nelson, placed on a piece of the fore-brace of the ship on which the general lost his live. After I had seen all there was to see, I descended and mounted the great tower. I was surprised by the divine view, that was offered, on both sides, to my surprised eyes. On the one side the royal grounds spread them self until the horizon. The large avenue through the forest, on which stood a equestrian statue of George the third, made for a grand view. Thanks to the elevated position of the tower I found a large number
<168> of six pence pieces on the sea and was I able to see London, when the fog had not made that impossible. All well worked fields intersected by forests and hedges were still green, not with standing the far advanced season. On this and the beautiful villages and fir forests I could not satisfy my eyes. Finally I went down and without having seen the queen or her spouse prince Albert I returned to London. I had bought that morning a return ticket, while it is cheaper that way. That evening I was visited by Valentin Konstantinovitsj [455]), with whom I went to
<169> the wax-museum [456]). I paid three f[rank] for the both of us and we were in. My expectations were highly surpassed while seeing this beautiful exposition, in which the artist, with extreme expertise, had copied nature. They had hundreds of wax figures of all kinds and all stations in society and all dressed after the position they had occupied during there lives. The kings convered with there subjects, the queens in the circle of there family, the nights on horseback. All these art objects were provided with numbers and in looking them up in the book [457]) that I had bought at the entrance
<170> I could exactly see, who were depicted by the statues. The likeliness of the more important russians seemed not to good to me. I personally saw the emperor and he seemed very large and beautiful to me. After having seen the exhibition in the first room I payed a new and we descended to the chamber of horror, were we came to the bloody scenes, that were shown there. The terrible impression of the pale, emaciated and bloody corpses, that are just as after the dagger or the blow that killed them, is enlarged
<171> by the dimness of the room. One had a large number of corpses, the heads still bloody, of the victims [458]) of the great revolutionaries, like Robespierre, Danton, etc, who

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454) Meyer K&F pp. 105-106. "In the collection of paintings at Windsor Castle he is caught by the paintings of van Dyck. He confesses that he leaks the real understanding for music and art, but not withstanding that does he form an opinion." I'm of the opinion that Meyer is somewhat to positive about Schliemann's possibilities if it came to forming an opinion on art. For Schliemann the apex of art was the copying of nature. He clearly preferred the wax-museum and the London panorama above the paintings of van Deyck. And even at Windsor Castle the was souvenirs get a better description that the paintings.

455) Written in Russian.

456) Madame Tussaud's Waxworks

457) Probably: Biographical and descriptive sketches of the distinguished characters which compose the unrivalled exhibition of Madame Tussaud & Sons'. (Madame Tussaud & Sons' Catalogue - Madame Tussaud & Sons' Exhibition Catalogue). London 1826-1975.

458) Schliemann writes "proins", which I read as "proies".

distinguished them self by the large blood thirst with which they killed there country man. One also has two scotsman of the lower classes, who for some years destroyed there land by incessant killing and delivering the corpses to students, with which they earned some thing [459]). The posture of the two persons, placed opposite of each other, is made very good and the illusion is very big.
<172> In a third room one finds Napoleon dead in his uniform on his bed. One keeps, as rarity and great speciality, a large number of objects, that the emperor loved during his live, among others a chair, together with the cane, that he preferred to use on St. Helena, his tobacco jar and a large number of other objects. They also have found his carriage, in which I took place to satisfy my curiosity.

Paris November 21.
To my great dissatisfaction I am unable to sleep thanks to the many exertions of the day and so I take up the thread
<173> of my report. Next I went to the large Panorama [460]), which interested me a lot. I went by omnibus to "Oxford st." and from there on foot to the Panorama. After having paid

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459) These were William Burk and William Hare. These two gentleman earned there bread by delivering corpses for the anatomical lessons of Dr. Robert Knocks. Contrary to the resurrection man they did not rob graves but killed there victims by strangulation. At the end of there career William Hare turned witness for the crown and testified against his former partner William Burk. Hare got immunity and Burk was hung in 1829 after which he was dissected by Dr. Knocks. In the anatomical museum of Glasgow one can still see the original death-mask of Burk.

460) In 1829 the Colosseum at Regents Park was opened. This was the result of a completely derailed project. During the restoration of the vault of St. Pauls Cathedral in 1823-24 Thomas Hornor had the idea to make some panoramic pictures of London. After he had started he became more and more enthusiastic and the project kept on growing. Hornor's art ideal was the absolute perfection of detail, even the smallest details should be visible in the picture. To do this he started at three o'clock in the morning, before the smoke of the factory chimneys had clouded the sky and obscured the horizon.They worked for four years on the panorama and had to open it, thanks to leak of money, before it was ready. It was an immediate success. Hornor had not created a picture of reality, but a picture of super reality. Not withstanding his success Hornor was unable to pay his debts and went broke. By 1844 they wanted to demolish it, but in the last instance it was bought by William Bradwell. The compleat sky and the landscape at the horizon were painted a new in such a way that an almost un english sunny effect was reached. By evening they changed the view of London by day, by way of lightning, in the view of London by night. Next to the Panorama the Colosseum had a large number of other curiosities. The entrance was modulated after the Vatican. Than one had a Swiss Cottage from one window one saw a real fall the, from an other the "Mer de glace" with in the centre the Mont Blanc. Next one had some green houses with plants and birds from the english colonies. These green houses were decorated in arabic style, One also could go to the museum of statues, with among others plaster casts of the Elgin Marbles. These statues were also for sale. In a promenade around the panorama one could see all the attractions of the mediterranean, for instance the ruins of a Theuseus and a Vesta temple, a triumph arch, etc. These were no models of real ruins, but models of ideal ruins. The ruins on show were better than the real ruins in the mediterranean. Antique buildings better than they had ever been in antiquity. The whole ended with a copy of the cave in the Adelsberg. Next they also tried other forms of amusement. In 1844 they had the first indoor rollerskate ring and in 1845 one could ski on artificial snow. After 1850 the popularity of the Colosseum was taken over by Crystal Palace and it was closed in 1860. See also: Oettermann, Stephan; Das Panorama, Die Geschichte eines Massenmediums. Frankfurt 1980.

four and a half frank I was allowed to enter. At the end of a long corridor, filled with beautiful marble statues, I found the fall of the Mont Blanc. The summit of the enormous mountain, that I found there, ends in the clouds. It [the fall] drops with
<174> a terrible force in the depth, over a sloop with thousands of rocks, in a lake. One sees the mountain with the fall by moon light, in which way it made an enormous impression on me. Next I went through a cave, that exists of a long, narrow winding passage, that is made artificially in the rock and from were one time and again on the left and on the right has a view of the fall [461]). After having viewed this cave with the same attention
<175> as the fall of the Mont Blanc, I entered a round hall, with a large number of decorations. In a circle stood a large number of beautiful marble statues. In the centre of this hall I found the stair to the Panorama. People who do not like to mount on foot can have them self, without trouble, hoisted up on a board (table). Arrived up stairs the eye of the foreigner is hit by the grandiose view that the panorama offers in all its particulars.

Nothing gives such a beautiful effect as this panorama. The spectator see
<176> the enormous city of London unfold as far as the horizon, in the ghostly light of the moon and the thousands of stars, that glitter on the horizon. Time and again clouds past in front of the moon and heaven. One saw lightning split the clouds and heard the powerful thunder. The beautiful river Thames presented it self with beautiful reflections and its water undulated sparkling in the light of the moon. Here and there, spread on the river, one saw boats with lamplight in there cabins, that moved on the rhythm of
<177> the rising and lowering of the boat on the waves. It was around 10 o'clock in the evening, some shops had already closed, while one saw light in others, that was beautifully mirrored in the blue and reddish bottles in the shop windows of chemist's- and druggist's shops. The streets were blocked by people and all kind of vehicles, which gave an impressive image to it all. When the air cleared it just seemed as if all the large bridges over the Thames lighted up in the light of the lanterns, who lighted them.

Thomas Horner's Panorama of London seen from St. Paul's Cathedral, 1829

461) It seems that Schliemann here mixes the "Swiss cottage" and the "Cave of Adelsberg".

<178> When one finds its self on the large gallery of the cathedral, it seems as if one is 400 feet above the earth, but in reality it is no more than 50 feet. One finds the city of London always more or less covered by fog, which every now and than disappears on one side, but never disappears completely. Even when one stays half a year in London one will never see her panorama as beautiful as it is artificially shown by art. One also sees the panorama in the gleaming rays of the sun. Than one sees of course
<179> much clearer and much further than in the evening. I gazed for more than an hour in ecstasy dumbfolded at this remarkable picture, unable to remove my self, even if the other spectators repeatedly asked me so. Except from this beautiful panorama I also saw a beautiful garden were art, from the remains of many an ancient temple. had been put down. The next morning, November 14, I again went to Messrs J. Hy. S[chröder] & Co. who helped me on to a letter of recommendation and a letter of credit for Paris. On my request they made an assortment of samples of bengal indigo, every kind
<180> separated in a small tine container. While the weight was respectable and I did not want to over load my self, I asked them to send the indigo, together with the cotton samples, that I had received from Liverpool, at my attention to A. M[ahs] & Co. J. Hy. & Co. promised me that it would arrive at our place in the middle week of December. I said good bye to them and went to the Baltic coffee house to talk with Ploterikoff, who was anxious to travel with me via Paris to Russia [462]). He told me
<181> that he had written home, to ask if he was allowed to return home, for which he waited impatiently. I returned with him to my shelter, hastily packed my possessions, payed my bill and we went in a trot with a carriage to the station. We arrived just in time. P[loterikoff] seemed very lively. The train left exactly at four o'clock and arrived at five thirty in Brighton. Previously I had them give me a description of were the steamers left. It was a pity that I did not arrive earlier in B[righton], than
<182> gracefully in its elevated position on the coast of the atlantic ocean this is one of the most beautiful villages of England. I went aboard the steamer, who left at eight o'clock. Even while the weather was quiet, the waves were high and strong and I immediately became seasick, the disaster of all travellers. Already at four o'clock in the morning we could see the french coast, but thanks to the darkness we could not land. While the day
<183> progressed, the fog slowly disappeared and around eight o'clock we entered the harbour of Dieppe, a large and beautiful french city on the coast. While we entered the canal, which makes out the harbour, we unfortunately collided with a large fishing barque, thanks to which our mast broke, with great force. This accident, that could have had large repercussions, brought no disaster with it [463]). When we arrived at the coast, we were surrounded by a large number of hotel boys, who gave the address of there hotel to the travellers and offered there services.
<184> My possessions were quickly investigated by the customs and my passport was send to the police as to be returned to me at the required moment. After I had taken a refreshing bath, I installed my self in hotel "la ville de Londre" [464]) were I was very well treated for my money. I occupied my self for a couple of hours with my travel journal, that I again had

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462) ? According to p. 84 it was Vasili Ivanovits who wanted to accompany Schliemann. Was there a second who had the same plan, or did Schliemann mix up the names?

463) In December 18, 1997 Salima Desavoye-Aubry, L'Assistante de Conservation du Patrimoine of Dieppe informed the author that" I am sorry to inform you that we have found nothing in our local papers relating to that accident."

464) Baedeker; Paris and its Environs. 1880 "Grand Hôtel de Londres, Quai Henry IV, opposite the steamboat-wharf."

neglected for some time. In the afternoon I made a walk through the city, that has nothing special to offer the foreigner. At the coast one has a nice bath,
<185> were one especially is occupied with the taking care of [the body] and in summer is always filled with people [465]). When asked for it proved that the post carriage did not leave before six o'clock the next morning. I took a place in the carriage, as to be better able to see the country. That place coast me 17 fr[ank], which is highly expensive. I left at November 16. The countryside is very uneven, soon we passed over high hills, soon we passed through deep valleys. I was delighted by the beautiful views, that offered them self at any place and that seemed to become bigger as we went forwards.
<186> Thanks to the large hindrances of nature agriculture in opposed in many places and that is way the advance in France is not as large as in England [466]). I found ny self in bad company in the carriage. I was together with a frenchman who did not stop sleeping. I was bored and so would have preferred an outside place. It was very cold, but I still would have preferred such a place above the other in the inside. After my arrival in "Havre", at three o'clock in the afternoon, I went to hotel
<187> "Normandi" [467]). The city is beautifully build and the beautiful houses of five or six floors, depict a minor Paris. Its position at the coast and the mouth of the Seine is charming. Havre's harbour is the most important of France [468]). The large ships with there large cargo enter it unhindered. In the centre of the city one sees a forest of masts and at the sides of the roads one is continually busy unloading. The french government takes all possible measures to promote
<188> commerce in Havre, which for thirty year was still a commercial insignificant little village. With enormous costs one has dug out and build a good harbour for the boats [469]). Thanks to the promotion of commerce, by the french government, the number of inhabitants of Havre have strongly risen and to day one counts 20,000 souls [470]). A large asphaltite

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465) Baedeker; Paris and its Environs. 1880. "Along the N. side of the town, between the sea and the Rue Aguado, ..., [is] a handsome marine park or promenade, ..., In front of it are placed about 200 small tents, used as dressing-rooms, from which the bathers descend into the water, accompanied by a guide-baigneur, if necessary. In fine weather the scene is very amusing, and novel withal to the English visitor."

466) Cole p. 70. "French and British industry developed along different lines, and there was no likelihood that the French would effectively challenge the British manufacturers in the new forms of production for the world market. France came to be predominantly a country not only of peasant cultivators, but also of small employers and mastercraftsmen, rather than of factory owners and factory workers. The introduction of steam-power into French industry was very slow, and joint-stock organization made relatively little progress except in banking and finance. Small-scale production in industry as well as in agriculture remained the basis of French economic life right up to 1914." Schliemann's analysis that France was hindered in it's economical progress by nature might be true. The natural circumstances made it harder to mechanise agriculture in France and so there was no land labourers surplus to work in industry.

467) Baedeker Paris 1888. "De Normandie, Rue de Paris 106."

468) Here Schliemann is mistaken, even in those days Marseille was already the number one harbour of France.

469) Baedeker Paris 1888: "The exstensive Harbour and Docks deserve a vist. The largest dock at present is the Bassin de l'Eure, 50 acres in area, constructed in 1846-1856, ..."

470) In 1856 the number of inhabitants of Le Havre was 62.470

square is used as exchange [471]). There are no fixed times of assembly. One goes to the exchange when one has something for sale, and one always finds people there.
<189> When it rains one goes to the arcade of the coffee-houses, that borders the exchange. What pleased me very much in Havre was that one, while speaking, did not keep a distance, the one remains on a few paces from the other, this is very advantages for business. After I had changed my cloth, I went to A S[chröder &] Co., who lives near the exchange. Even while they do large transactions they have a small office and few assistance. Since they put all there energy in there business, they are very solid [472]) in there business. I was very kindly received.
<190> A. S[chröder] invited me to dine with him in hotel "d'Europe", which I excepted without hesitation. At a table I saw a young man that I previously had seen in Amsterdam and who was very surprised to meet me again in Havre. The french way of live does not seem very sensible to me. They have a lot of liberty here. They rarely marry and are very content with an immoral live. The usual table conversation is about what they choose and immoralities, which would be very embarrassing to witness in Russia.
<191> When they are ready with there work, which they do not conscientious, the french think about nothing but pleasure, they have fun and they are very accurate in the vulgar pleasantries they like, which one easily recognises as there character. What surprised me most was the intrepidness of the french ladies, who, without having been introduced, mingle in the conversations of strangers, that they see for the first time. Even if A. S[chröder] and I saw each other for the first time, we knew
<192> each other by our correspondence [473]), we talked about a large number of subjects that gave us a change on profitable business. That evening we went to the theatre, which is small and bad [474]). They performed a vulgar comedy as one is used to do in small cities. Everybody knows everybody in Havre. By my appearance they saw that I was a foreigner and many an opera-glass was turned in my direction. We left before the play was finished and went to the reading room,
<193> were, among others, all city papers from 1789 until now are kept. Those papers were nicely bound. I valued the book from the napoleonic era. At his return from Elba, at his arrival in France, one quit openly called him a traitor and perjurer, but a little later they invited him and the whole french army to return to them. He came in large fashion to Paris, as the king before him and they called him again emperor Napoleon. The next day, November 17, I wrote a letter
<194> to CBA. Mr. A. S[chröder] tolled me, that he had the intention to open a bank in Paris, but he could not say when exactly this would happen. Even while we have a good bank in Paris, BLF & FO, whose way of reacting leaves nothing to wish for, I believe that it is prudent to have still an other bank, in the conviction that our business, in France, will

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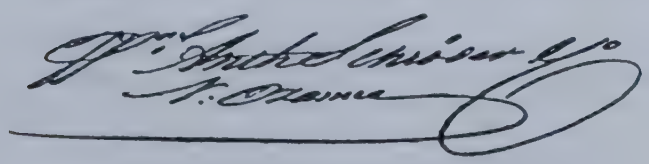
471) The first roofed over exchange was not build until 1880.

472) Schliemann writes "solvenir" which I read as "solvable".

473) All 16 letters from Le Havre that are kept in the Gennadius Library are signed by N. Ozanne.



474) This Theatre was build in 1844

develop it self forcefully in the near future. At the invitation of A. S[chröder] I wrote a letter to H. Ganneron & Co in Havre and Paris, to convey to them my connection with A[lexceff]
<195> and to ask them if they wanted to start a business relation with us. After having finished this letter I brought it my self to the head of H. Ganneron, who is in charge of there business in Havre. They were happy to do business with us and all is going according to the rules. The Paris house will write by the end of December, when I hope to have returned, to Moscow. A. S[chröder] & Co. promised me, when I asked them, to send samples of Gom and Indigo for me to there Hamburg house. Mrs. Ozanne,
<196> the partner of A. S[chröder], was in Elbenf to buy cloth. Since I longed to make my acquaintance with him I decided to leave for Rouen by 9 o'clock in the evening and to continue to Elbenf the next day. A. S[chröder] equipped me with a letter of recommendation for BLF & CO and an other for Messrs. Le Roy & fils, as to recommend me by the last in the hope that we, through A. S[chröder] & C[o]. would get the agency for cloth. I left at 9 o'clock and took a large pack
<197> of samples from A. S[chröder] for Ozanne with me. I arrived at six o'clock in the morning in Rouen. After having taken a coffee in hotel "de Normandi" [475]), opposite to the station of the post carriages, I had my luggage brought to the railway station, while I had my self transported in a carriage. Unfortunately I forgot my coat in the hotel, and so I unfortunately had to return to find it, which was not easy, since I did not know the way. So I rented a carrier to point out the way to me and to carry my coat to the railway station, were I came
<198> way to late for the train. While I waited it had become day and I could easily see the beautiful appearance that the city of Rouen, at the river side, has to offer. The roads are narrow and dirty; the houses are high and well build. Most of the rocks in France are of sand stone, which, in stead of bricks, that are used in other countries, can very profitable be used in the building of houses. The walls are covered with a coat of chalk or paint
<199> which gives the houses a nice appearance. One of the largest towers of Rouen is for some years split by lightning. At the moment one is busy to replace it by one of cast iron [476]). I did not wait for the departure of the second train, I continued my trip by steam boat, straight to Elbenf. I greatly dislike seasickness, by which I always feel badly at ease when I am on the water. The sun glittered with her golden beams on the tops of the hills,
<200> which I found on both sides of the river. Here and there on the mountainous terrain, through which we sailed, were nice villages and beautiful forests. Finally we arrived in Elbenf, were I stopped at hotel "d'Europe" [477]). After lunch I went to Ozanne, who I found without trouble. He accepted the pack with wool samples and invited me for a tour through

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475) In the notebook from File D2 we find: "Hôtel de Ville d'Albion, rue St Thomas de Louvre." In the Baedeker from 1888 we find no hotel "de Normandi", but we find a Hôtel d' Albion, Quai de la Bourse 16." According to this guide this is the best hotel of Rouen. Ludwig p. 77. " This time too - he writes down in Rouen - I have followed my habit to connect saving with a shining appearance, while I rented a room in the best hotel, but on the sixth floor. This hotel is the largest that I ever saw, more than 500 rooms from 50 to 2 franks." A little further on we will see that Schliemann wrote this in Paris.

476) Baedeker; Paris and its Enviros. 1888. Tour de Beurre. "She is 77 m. high. Until 1822 it was a stone tower with a beautiful pinnacle, but she is destroyed by lightning and replaced, between 1824 and 1876, by an ugly pyramid of cast iron with a hight of 148 meter, 151 with the cross."

477) Schliemann probably meant "Hotel de l'Univers, rue de la Barrière 55", it could however also be "Grand-Hôtel, place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville.

his cloth factory, were he showed me much. Elbenf is a factory city, famous for the good
<201> cloth, that they make there. Over the Seine, that cuts through the city, one has a large beautiful bridge, made of iron wire. Ozanne is a man of 50 year who does not have the french character, he thinks about nothing but his business, to which he gives him self with all his ambition. After we had spoken, for a long time, about our future businesses, I left by omnibus for "Port Large" [478]), were I took a seat in the train to Paris. The couches of the train in French are more or less build in the same way as those in England. In French the second class
<202> is very practically equipped with cushions, the third class is not to be recommended, since it is uncovered. I took a seat in the first class than I wanted nice company. The country side between Rouen and Paris is very hilly. To avoid the natural hindrances the railway follows continually the boarders of the Seine. Not withstanding that, one has a large amount of tunnels. At the french railways everything goes very slowly and I believe that they do not make more than 15 english miles an hour. At seven o'clock in the evening I arrived
<203> in the enormous capital of France. This time again I followed my old habit to join the economical with the beautiful view and I took shelter in the best hotel, "hotel des Princes", rue de Richelieu, on the sixth floor [479]). This hotel, which is situated in the centre of the city, is the largest that ever I saw, it has and gives shelter to foreigners with more than 500 rooms for the price of 50 to 2 franks. I occupied one of 2 franks, of which the interior left nothing to wish for. As I went from the railway station to the hotel I had by repetition taken a view
<204> of the high houses and the beautiful decorations. Immediately after my arrival in the hotel I left again for a little walk on the Boulevard, which is a large street, which is busily occupied by pedestrians and vehicles. On both sides is a nice side walk of asphalt. The hight of the houses makes for a beautiful picture, since the Paris houses are totally different from those in London, they are covered with chalk or oil paint. When one attentively watches the crowd, that presses over and blocks the side walks, one sees at first glance
<205> that here reigns an other character, than in other countries. Already in the cradle the parisian receives the carnal of an immoral live, to which he surrenders with all his energy even for his body is fully grown. Thanks to there instinct or the example of others, one thinks of nothing else from the age of 13 or14, than the possibilities to satisfy there greedy inclinations for the bestial, the very reproachable, as often as possible. They are exhausted while in the prime of there live and an existence of idleness threatens. The young man pas
<206> there time in following there terrible inclinations for pleasure and dissolution. Under the wait of these affairs they fade at there work, are good in nothing, one starts nothing, one never knows how to make something. This way of live presses against the carnal of existence, the young flowers weather, become old and normally die a premature death, before the paradise years, those years, in which the man, in the midst of his family, enjoys the good live [480]). At the age of 20 the parisian looks 30, at 25 as 40, at 35 as 60. Age 40,

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478) Pont-de-l'Arche

479) Ludwig and Meyer took this remark to show that Schliemann lived very economical during this trip. I doubt if we can do that, the taking of a first class train ticked points in an opposite direction. We don't find this hotel in any Baedeker, but it is mentioned in: Pequegnot, A.; L'Indispensable, ou Nouveau Conducteur des Étrangers dans Paris. 1841.

480) Southey, Robert (1774-1813); The old man's comforts

In the days of my youth, Father William replied
I remember'd that youth would fly fast,
And abused not my health and my vigour at first

which they rarely make, they are
<207> old man, who are bend by the terrible consequences of the perverted and dissolute live of there youth. The parisians think let us enjoy the live that we live and gaiety domineers all. One tells that the loose way of live here is a consequence of the climate, but that is a senseless remark, a bad excuse. It is a contagious disease, that pulls them like a magnet and that devours its victims and passes them on to a slow and painful death. [481])

Daguerreotype Paris 1852-1854

That I never might need them at last.

481) Zola, Emile; Frecondité. 1899. "I immediately knew, not even three month after our marriage, that you went with other woman. O, it was not bad, just simple cases of infidelity, that wise woman over look ... But soon it became worse, did you start impudently lying to me, made the one lie forced you to invent up an other. In the end you went with the meanest girls, did you come home at night while I was already a sleep, sometimes drunk and poisoned by the foulest fornication. ... Do not try to deny it, do not invent new lies! You see I know everything!. And she walked to wards him, drove him into a corner, without giving him the time to say a word. And the child, that you no longer could make with me, you made out doors, with all the girls, that wanted you. The first that you met in the street, got one from you if she wanted. You scattered it in the wind, if only you had pleasure of it, ..." Zola is of the opinion that France is going down my the extra marital activities of man. Only a healthy marital live with lots of children can save the nation. It's however nice to know that Zola had his children with his maitres and not with his wife. The brothers Edmont and Jules Concourt however found the reason for the moral decline mainly by woman. In Germinie Lacerteux, 1864, they show a housekeeper who goes under in cheap sex and alcohol. "This was the largest fright of our lives. For the rest of our lives suspicion against the total female sex had crept into our minds. The double bottom of the female soul, the unbelievable resourcefulness and the accomplished talent for telling lies have filed us with dismay."

To continue my travel report. I was hungry and so I entered a restaurants were I had them give me what seemed good to me. In London the inns and restaurants are completely differently organized than in Paris. In London one normally sees long narrow halls with on both sides tables, separated by chamber-screens, at which one sits. In this way a London restaurant has a large number of small rooms. In Paris on the contrary the tables are placed symmetrically next to each other. After I had refreshed my self I asked for the bill, which was 20 franks, which seemed extremely much to me, than I had not even taken wine. I immediately went home and the next morning I went to Thurneyssen & Co, Chaussée St Antoin 22, JL Fouls and Fould Ofprect [?], Rue Bugère 10 and finally to Leroy & Fils, Rue Mulhouse. The french offices
<209> normally are divided in three parts, the box-office, the office in which the assistance work and the room that the patron has meant for him self. Mr. Fould was surprised that I had no letter of recommendation from Mr. Alexceff. He received me very friendly and I had a long and pleasant conversation with him. I informed him about my connection with Mr. A[lexceff], which he enthusiastically approved. About my future intentions I hurried my self to tell him that I wanted to do banking business with his house. F[ould] is a man of about 45 years of age and to judge by his appearance, quiet and forceful, he totally does not have the character of a
<210> parisian. He has black and many coloured hair, which makes sure that he is not troubled by feelings. He seemed to me a man with a lot of experience and very reasonable. He did not encouraged me in obtaining the agency for the silk trade and told me that it would be a sensitive task, difficult and dangerous before we knew it perfectly. The nearest silk factories are to be found in Lyon, in Paris they only negotiate about lots that are kept in the warehouses that are part of the Lyon factories and that are also offered
<211> by the silk merchants for there own profit. Non of these merchants has a good and lasting market and they are very dependent on there agents in other countries, who work for them and prevent them from obtaining a profit. They make there profit by raising there bills and by a loss, they like to make good through irresponsible demands. Under these circumstances I decided to keep my self totally clear from the paris silk merchants. Mr. F[ould] remarked that we
<212> could work with italian silk, were we easily, with the help of his intervention, could obtain an agency. With this offer he gave me some, non addressed, in italian written, brochures. In these brochures he offered his service as an agent and made his offer clear. After I had thanked Mr. Fou[ld] for his good advise I went to S.A. After that to Mr. Leroy, a young man of about 24 years,
<213> who, by an early marriage, is saved from the abyss in which the others sink. After he had read my letters of recommendation, he said that he wanted nothing better than to do business with us. On my request he promised me an assortment of cloth samples and calculations, according to me they do not easily give there merchandise in consignment. I however understood through experience that they immediately, with open arms, excepted the change that I offered them. On the evening of the 19th I visited my old friend Hulman, with home I went to a cafe to treat him at my best. When one knows Paris one can, with a bit of calculating, live here very well. There are a large number of restaurants, were one easily can get ones supper for 2 frank, and well julienne soup with croutons and vermicelli, or something else, three dishes of choice, a dessert and half a bottle of wine. The assistance are in general well paid in Paris, my friend for instance receives 1600 fr and lodging without food. The next morning I rented a messenger boy for 100 sous
<215> the day, who had to guide me through the city. My guide was an italian, who spoke french badly and so I talked with him in his mothers tongue. Before anything else we went to post the letters to my moscovian friends, after which we went to buy a golden chain for the son in law of Mr. A[lexceff]. To buy such things one can not do better than to go to the garden

of the royal palace, a large building, which has a large square and is on all sides provided with beautifully shining shops [482]). Nothing gives such a beautiful effect as this collection <216> of elegant shops and stores, who together make up the most beautiful and riches bazaar in the world. One finds all luxuriant, sentient and pleasant objects in abundance together. Above these galleries there are made beautiful floors in the palais building, of which most of the apartments are rented to restaurants and cafes, coffee houses and other accommodations, who all are very luxuriantly furnished. I entered the shop of a gold smith to ask for the price of a grain and weight of a certain chain, as I wanted to buy for <217> Mr. Beklemischoff. Not without a lot of trouble I finally decided to buy one for 125 frank [483]). I had it fastened to my watch and next I went on with my guide to the Louvre, the ancient palais of the french kings. It is impossible to give in writing a successful description of the impression of the master [pieces] that are present in this large and beautiful monument for the arts [484]). We crossed through the enormous halls, filed with ancient and modern art [485]), next through the rooms that formerly were used by the king. These rooms are not cared for or repaired in this century, they show a very dirty exterior. The decorations in those rooms gave me an impression of how perfect they were made by the arts of those days. After having viewed the paintings, we went to the rooms that are reserved for the nautical materials [486]). One has models there of all kinds of boats, but the largest

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482) Beadeker Paris 1888. "with the exception of the houses in the aristocratic Faubourg St Germain, there are few buildings in Paris which have no shops on the ground-floor. The most attractive are those in the Boulevards, especially towards the W. end, in the Palais-Royal, the Rue de la Paix, Avenue de l'Opera, Passage Jouffroy, Passage des Panoramas, Rue Vivienne, and Rue de Rivoli. A few of the best and most respectable of the innumerable and tempting 'magasins' of Paris are here enumerated. The prices are generally somewhat high."

483) In the note book from File D2 we find: "1 chaine d'or 100"

484) Huet, Conrad Busken (1826-1886); Parijs en Omstreken. Premie op het nieuws van den dag. 1878. Busken Huet was a protestant vicar of a lighter domination. In 1862 he gave up on his calling and became a writer. pp. 292-293. "On Sundays the dignified little citizen come to this place. To be seen? For that this company is not elegant enough. To see? NO. The parisian little citizen walks on sundays through the Grande-Galerie of the Louvre, as if it were the road in the Champs-Elysées. While he does not look up he walks with his wife at his arm and his little girl at his hand, he moves forwards, content with the fact that he is a parisian and that in the Louvre, were the Rafaels, the Titians, the Murillos, the Riberas, the Rubenses, the Rembrandts, the Cuypens, the van Dycks and the Potters hang, is the most beautiful museum of the world."

485) When Schliemann speaks of modern art we have to realize that what we now call modern art had not jet appeared. For him modern art was neo classicism and what more generally now is called academism and probably some early orientalism.

486) Baedecker Paris 1888. "The Musée de la Marine is a very valuable collection of various objects connected with ship-building and navigation, such as models of vessels and machines, plans of harbours in relief, drawings, and relics of historical intrest. Most of the models of ships are one-fortieth of the actual size. I. Room. Model representing the taking down and embarkation of the obelisk of Luxor; erection of the obelisk in the Place de la Concorde. VI Room. Large obelisk composed of relics of the frigates 'Boussole' and 'Astrolabe', which had been sent on a voyage of discovery under Captain de Lapérousse in 1788, and foundered at sea. Traces of the ill-fated expedition having been discovered by the English Captain Dillon in the island of Ticopia in 1828, with the aid of an inhabitant who

number of models are naval ships, steamships and others. One also has models of a large number of harbours in foreign countries and in french. The houses, represented
<219> by little houses of wood, just as the elevations in the landscape, are copied very good. One also shows in this hall, as a special rarity, the shortly brought to the surface remains, of a since a century, on the bottom of the sea, buried boat. Next we visited the egyptian antiquities [487]), the ancient, couvert with important hieroglyphics, coffins and a large number of smaller objects [488]). In my opinion this museum surpasses the london museum, as well in beauty as in richness of the collection [489]).
<220> Next we went through the great halls with the ancient and modern statues, that surprise and dazzle the foreigner with the special beauty and elegance of there collection [490]) After we had seen all there is to be seen, we went to see the palace of the "Tuileries", of which the outside gives no feeling of impression to the foreigner. It has two floors. When one enters through the large open gate, one comes in the garden of the "Tuilerie." I had already heard thousands of foreigners speak about the beautiful scene of the decorated garden of the "Tuilerie", but that what I saw in reality surpassed
<221> the wildest dreams, that I had made my self. At some meters of the palais one sees a round pond with beautiful swans. At some distance the egyptian obelisk erects it self a hundred foot. This monument, that more than four centuries served as decoration of the grave of an ancient egyptian king, is brought from Egypt on two boats that were connected by a curtain. Thanks to the enormous wait of the obelisk, which exists from one stone, the coast of

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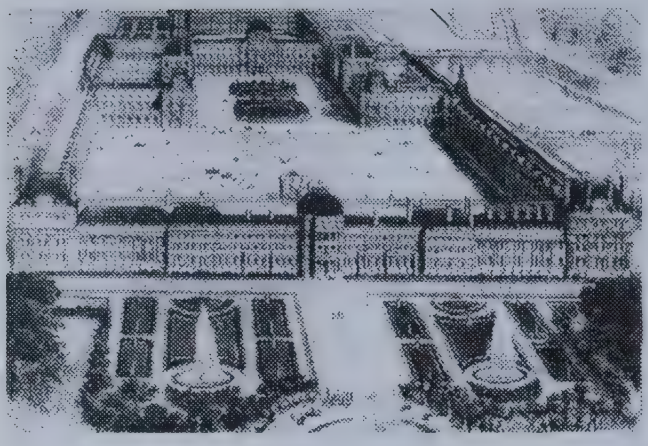
had once been a Prussian sailor, a French vessel was despatched for the purpose of bringing home the relics. Letter written by Lapérouse. Bust of celebrated French navigators and naval heroes; among them, one of Lapérouse. Model of a monument erected to the memory of Lapérouse at Port Jackson, with English and French inscriptions."

487) Busken Huet p. 285. "Let us not forget to climb the stairs and give the remains of the ancient Egyptian art in the upper galleries a good look. In a showcase we see the portrait of a girl, painted on wood, which is probably four thousand years old. The girl however still looks as sweet, fresh and coquettish, as in the days of her fashionable flesh. With such little ladies - eyes as large as those of Juno by Homer, dark as the black blue of an oriental starlight night, trimmed with eye lases as large as your little finger - has the imagination of the Arabs, I suggest, later populated the heaven of Mohammed."

488) Busken Huet p. 286. "Down stairs there is a large number of sarcophagus and sphinxes. On these black marble egyptian coffins, covered with hundreds of engraved pictures and signs, there is more importants to read than in many an encyclopedia of modern days. More even than from the hieroglyphs of those last stone dwellings of our fallow beings, one learns from the unspeakable melancholy corners of the mouth of a pair of sphinxes. In the facial expression of her sphinxes the egyptian art has put an impression of fatality, destroyed joy of live, high heartily desperation, for which even Albrecht Dürers "Melangolia" has to step a side. No other statues fit so well on both sides of Dantes gate to hell. Sphinxes do not have to let go hope. Every happy expectation was, before time eternal, given up."

489) Baedeker Paris 1888. "The Egyptian Museum (Musée Egyptien), the most important collection of the kind in Europe, affords, so fas as is possible without the appropriate architectural surroundings, an almost complete survey of the religion, the customs, and the art life of the most ancient of civilised nations."

490) Buesken Huet p. 287. "The Louvre and the Luxembourg prove, that the french art of sculpting of the last half century has made moving progress; that the suns have grown above the heads of the fathers. The greek art is living again in Paris. Never have the later made more beautiful sculpture, than the french do at this moment."



View of the gardens and the palace of the Tuileries, the new and the old Louvre, 1858

transport and erection have been terrible. It is erected on a large and high pedestal <222> with a latin inscriptions, which give the date of erection. To get a better idea of this monument one has to depict a squire pillar, which slowly gets smaller when it nears its top. The obelisk is, on all sides, covered with hieroglyphs, that are cut in the stone, and which exist of snakes, little birds, foxes, corpses, etc. That what is written in hieroglyphs is now a days totally incomprehensible and nobody understands what they say [491]). The inscription on the obelisks doubtlessly presents the pilgrimage
<223> of the moon [492]).
Leaving the description of the garden half an hour for what it is, I now will give witness of the specialities of a wonderful happening, that I have attended to night. I had heard quit a lot of the famous conjurer "Robert Houdin", Palais Royal, gallery de Valois, and so I could not

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491) It seems that Schliemann did not know about the work of François Champollion. "Precis du Systeme hieroglyphique" had appeared in 1824.

492) Baedeker Paris 1888. "Obelisk of Luxor. Ramses II, King of Egypt, better known by his Greek title of Sesostris the Great, who reigned in the 14th century before Christ, erected a huge 'pylon' gate and a colonnade before a temple which his great ancestor Amenhotep III had built in the E. suburb of Thebes, the site now occupied by the poor village of Luxor. In front of this gate stood two beautiful obelisks, and it is one of these that now embellishes the Place de la Concorde. Each of the four sides of the obelisk is inscribed with three vertical rows of hieroglyphics, the middle row in each case referring to Ramses II, while the others were added by Ramses III, a monarch of the succeeding dynasty. The inscriptions of Ramses II are in the early Egyptian monumental style, and record with self-satisfied repetition how Ramses II, the 'Lord of the Earth', the 'Sun", the 'annihilator of the enemy', erected the pylons and the obelisk in honour of Ammon Ra in return for the victorious might with which the god had endowed him. A vessel was despatched to Egypt in 1831 for the purpose of bringing home the pasha's [Mohammed Ali] gift. The task, however, proved so difficult that the vessel did not return with its costly freight till August, 1833, and the erection of the obelisk in its present position was not accomplished till 1836, under the direction of Lebas. The expense of the whole undertaking amounted to two million francs."

prevent my self from going to his performance. I arrived at six thirty. The stair was already filled with people, who stood in a que, after some time one let us enter in a small, beautiful furnished and decorated theatre, which quickly filed it self with spectators.
<224> At eight o'clock the curtain was raised. R. Houdin, a man with a special talent for talking, immediately asked for the hat of one of the spectators, that he held high for the public, by which he convinced them that it contained nothing, after which he turned the hat and with an unbelievable dexterity took out a dozen fans, that he passed, as presents, around among the spectators. He again showed the hat and next he took out a handkerchief of which he made a night cap over the hat. Next he raised the handkerchief again and throw
<225> three large plumes on the ground. He repeated this act and threw from this handkerchief a large number of small red plumes, of which the number seemed to get bigger the longer he waved the handkerchief. Next he again put the handkerchief over the opening of the hat, that he kept in his hand and out of which he took with his other hand two large, massif wooden balls, the size of a mans head. It is impossible to understand how he did these miracles of conjuring, than he had no laughable points, he had no help, he did everything in view of the audience, in a way
<226> that was incomprehensible for every one. Next he investigated the hat again and took out a large basket with bouquets of flowers, that he gave as presents to the audience. Next he put a large glass vase filled with ink on the table. Next he borrowed a ring and threw it in the vase. He took a spoon, that he filled with thick black ink and in view of everybody poured it in a cup, it was real ink, next he covered the vase with a piece of cloth, hit it with a little stick and brought the vase back in view, it contained nothing but clear water, in which
<227> a goldfish swum with the ring in its mouth. Next he again took the hat, which he put on the table, he covered it with a handkerchief and put everything on a board, next he regained the handkerchief under a large, with water and nice yellow fish filled, vase. Next he put a little strong box on a piece of cloth in between the spectators, who convinced them of the enormous lightness of this strong box. Next he ordered the box to make it self heavier, Next one could the box, that seemed a piece of iron, only lift with much trouble.
<228> Next he made them a pleasure by reducing the weight of the case again. Next he borrowed 5 coins of 5 frank, that he had marked, by those that gave them, as to make it possible that they later on would recognize them again. At the other side of the little theatre he put a glass under a glass bell on a table. Next he showed the money to the public, he wrapped it in a handkerchief, that he put on the other side of the hall. Next he clapped his hands and when those hands touched each other one heard the ringing of a
<229> 5 franc piece, that as by magic, dropped in the covered glass. Next he took a pidgin, of which he made two by hitting on it. Next he took two pidgins and wrapped them in a handkerchief, next he took the pack with the two pidgins in his hand, hit on it and said, that one could regain them in a drawer of a small cupboard, that he had put on the table on the other side of the hall. Next he put a fruit tree on the table, one saw neither flowers, nor fruit. He put a small magic lantern under the
<230> tree. This immediately made buds appear, next flowers and finally fruit. Houdin picked two, that he passed a round. Next he left the other on the tree. Than he borrowed a handkerchief and a key, that he bound together and of which he made a little packet, that he throw in the direction of the audience, at the same moment he said, that one could regain the handkerchief in the fruit on the tree. Commanded to it by a little stick the fruit opened and made the handkerchief and the key appear. Two butterflies were seated on the outsides and stroked visibly with there little wings against these two objects. After this conjurers trick, he hang a glass sling by way of a silk wire
<231> on the ceiling. The sling was placed in such a way that it made no contact with the ceiling or the bare floor. The artist, who placed him self at the end of the hall, had this needle move after his will on the face of a clock. Next he had it point out the hours as the spectators

called it, which he did in a marvellous way. Next he took a doll in livery, that he put on the table and gave a gun in its hand, The conjurer distributed a game of cards among the visitors. Next he questioned the doll, which answered him
<232> by shaking its head, by bowing its head. The doll pointed, with great accuracy, out the different cards as they were given to the one or the other person. Next he borrowed a ring, that he broke and put in the gun of the doll. This one next shot the gun and thanks to the conjuring art the ring was carried by a small white wax angel, who lifted it miraculously. Next he asked a large number of spectators to write a number on a piece of paper, which he folded and put under a glass bell, so that it was possible for the spectators to see them. Next he questioned the doll, who
<233> not only in a beautiful way pointed out all the numbers, but also added them all. Next he placed a beautiful wooden house, 6 foot long and 2 foot brought, depicting a cafe restaurant, on the table. At the order of the artist the boy opened the doors and showed it to the public by moving its head. The conjurer next pulled the lottery. At the moment a number was pulled it appeared in an illegal way in the hand of a spectator that the artist pointed out for a price, than a new edition of la Fontaine,
<234> than a dozen gold plates, than a small pot of tea. The edition of la Fontaine was than by the boy put in the restaurant, to the fun of all, than it was no more than a small bottle of clear water. Next the 12 gold plates were nothing but a piece of paper with the number 12 on it, on both sides covered with a meaningless sheet of gold. Next the boy put up a large number of cards, on which menus were noted, that one had in the restaurant. Next Houdin passed the cards around among the public and invited them at the same time to ask what the wanted. Next one asked for a 'volet au vent' [493] ,
<235> the other a glass of lemonade. The boy who was at the doorstep made them search and bring it without hesitation. The public seemed to enjoy this very much. Than the conjurer said, now I will conjure up my son and he made all his belongings disappear. He put his son, a child of about ten years, on a table without curtain, without anything and covered him with a kind of funnel of black material. Next he went to the other side of the hall. He shot with a pistol. He took the funnel away and the child had disappeared and had
<236> his place on the other side of the theatre. The father covered his eyes and put him on a chair. Next the conjurer had him self given a large number of different objects by the spectators. He turned with its back to the child and questioned the last about what he kept in his hand. To the great surprise of all who were present the child answered very exactly all the questions that were put to him, questions of the kind that are very hard to guess and that normally are connected with clairvoyance. I among others gave my key to the conjurer, who asked his son at which number
<237> I stayed at my hotel. The child answered 26, which is absolutely right. Next I gave him my hat, the father looked in the lining of the last and encouraged his son to spell the name of the manufacturer, the place were the hat was made and the number of the street. On everything the child gave an accurate answer. Next I took my watch from my pocket, I asked the father if the son could tell me how late it was on my watch. My watch is a little bit broken, but not with standing that the boy told me exactly what time it was. Next, taking my watch in his hand, the conjurer
<238> asked if I wanted him to change it into something else. I asked him for the tail of a white rabbit and at the same moment I had it in my hand. Next he hit with a little stick on the tail and it changed back in my watch. Next the curtain was closed, the gas flames were extinguish and the artist gave us a beautiful presentation of lighted chinese amber landscapes

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493) Volet au vent, blindly hauling upon the wind ??? I have no idea what Schliemann meant here.

and figures [494]). All that we experienced was done very beautiful.
<239> After this summary I finally take up the thread of my adventures in the garden of the "Tuilerie" again. On both sides of the obelisk I found nice fountains, it jetted through more than a hundred holes with a large force. Before we came to the fountains my guide and me went to the place from were criminals shot at the king [495]). It was far from the balcony, so were they could not be discovered. It is good possible to reach it from a large distance. Everywhere in the garden are beautiful marble statues, who depict different kinds of allegorical subjects. Following the way through the avenues on the right side we came to the Champs-Elisée.
<240> These lasts are large parks with in it houses for pleasure, cafes, restaurants, etc. All of a beautiful architecture. The parks too give a very impressive picture. The trees are planted along large avenues. Time and again one sees beautiful fountains, who are connected nicely to beautiful walk-ways. Behind the Champs-Elisée is the Arc de Triomphe of Etoile. This enormous monument is erected in the honour of the french army, as well under the republic, as under the emperor. From an historical point of view, as well as by the noble and
<241> beautiful simplicity, this is the most important and beautiful modern building that one can see and that shows the enormous idea, that came into being in the brain of the human genius that gave the order to the execution of it. I have an exact description of the sculptured groups of this monument, who I gave a close look, in my printed description of Paris [496]). One mounts the inside by way of a revolving stair through the massive side wall and one immediately comes in a large number of large vaulted halls, that look like the old egyptian tombs. One goes on mounting until the surface of the building, were one finds a beautiful view over
<242> the surrounding country side. Even while it rained hard I preferred to go back on foot. After supper I paid the messenger boy and tooled him to be back the next morning at 8 o'clock. I went to the Opera. The Opera is without doubt the most stilted, beautiful and impressive happening that one can see [497]). It is always very much wanted by people of taste, connoisseurs and foreigners of distinction. I am assured that in no other country of the

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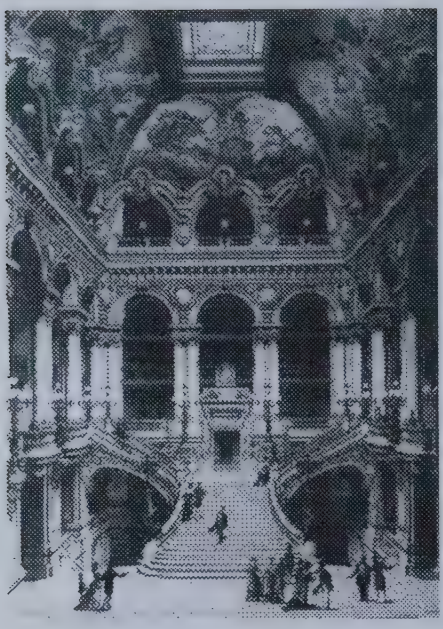
494) ... l'artiste nous favorisa de fort jolies representations d'ambres chinoises en couleur inluminée, les paysages, figures.

495 In the three day war (June 27-29. 1830) the people drove all the troops from Paris . King Charles X and his family fled to england and were replaced by the Duke of Orlean. In 1832 there was, under the Duke of Berry, a new republican uprising that was unsuccessful. After this conspiracies and attacks became the order of the day, while the government became more and more corrupt. After 1835 there have been a number of attacks at the king and so it is impossible to say, for me, about which one Schliemann is speaking here. The whole thing came to a head with the uprising of 1848 that made for the second republic.

496) Pequegnot, A.; L'Indispensable, ou Nouveau Conducteur des Étrangers dans Paris. 1841. "The Arc de Triomphe of Etoile is erected at the end of the Champs-Elysées. ... The foundation dates from 1806; the first plan was made by the architect Chalgrin; about all sculpture is of resent date; the building is finished in our days." After this we find an accurate description of all the details, which in total takes up 4 pages (pp. 52-54) and so make up for the longest article in this book.

497) Pequegnot p. 241. "Opera - Académie Royale de Musique. Of all the theatres this is the most beautiful of the capital. It is the coming to gather of singers, actors and famous musicians; in this theatre the illusion is carried as by an enchantment. When the curtains open one does not know what to admire most, the beautiful decorations, the riches of the costumes or the perfection with which the piece is executed."



The grand stairway in the Opera.

world such a collection of excellent artist, of the highest honour, as well for singing as for dancing
<243> as also for the instrumentation, are to be found. The vocal and instrumental execution is extraordinary and when it comes to the dance there is nothing equal to the special suppleness, power and elegance of the dancers, together with the grace and lightness of there movement, plus the perfection of the regularity in the group, plus the richness, the difference in the cloth, the size of the stage, the number of people, the beauty and freshness of the sets, there trustful imitation of nature, together they form the perfect stage view, that plays a powerful part by the interest in the dramatic happening, all together make sure for a compleat illusion, that grabs the spectator
<244> and pulls him in. When looking at such a collection of wonders one does not stop admiring. On gave that evening "Guillaume Tell". Next through the theatre one passes through a large bazaar with beautiful shops, which are lighted by gas and make for a beautiful sight in the evening. Saturday, November 21, around 8 o'clock I went, with my guide, to the station for the train to Versailles. We came some what to late and while waiting we went to "l'Eglise de la Madeleine", who in a modern architecture has the shape of an ancient temple [498]). Around it are
<245> 48 corinthian pillars. The church is build like a parallelogram. It is the most

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498) This building was started in 1764. In 1806 Napoleon changed the plans and wanted to turn it into a temple for the "Grande Armee". In 1813 he changed this idea again and decided that it still had to become a church. In 1842 the building was ready. Pequegnot p. 83 "Her construction and her meaning make this certainly to one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, ... L'église de la Madeleine is a most beautifully build piece of greek architecture."

beautiful construction that I ever saw, than in the whole building is not one piece of wood. The doors are made of bronze, there are no windows (there hardly touches any daylight on the walls), the whole of the inside is lighted from above. The roof is made of bronze and iron. The inside of the church is beautifully decorated with statues, gilding and paintings, who depict happenings from the life of Madeleine. Next we left for Versailles. On both sides of the way we saw well worked land with in it beautiful houses.
<246> French woman are very intrepid and more resolute than the beautiful sex in Russia. My guide and me had on my costs a first class ticket and spoke together italian. Opposite of me sat, judging by here lovely appearance and beautiful decorations, a distinguished lady. I was not even five minutes in her vicinity or she, very kindly, started a conversation with me. Our small talk went about thousands of things, among which the connection and great and honest love that I feel for Moscow and its
<247> inhabitants and I constantly had to think about that place, were all my desirers come together. I honestly can not prevent my self, on this long journey, to tell over and over again that I am a russian, an inhabitant of Moscow. It gives me great joy and in the end it makes me believe that I am really a muscovite. Of cause I too tolled this lady that I am a russian. I am very pleased, that she said that she was very pleased to travel with a russian, some one from that glorious country, that the french respect and see as equal. Finally arrived in Versailles, we hurried to
<248> the castle. Like Paris is really the most beautiful city of Europe, so Versailles is rightfully called the most beautiful. The direct surroundings in which it is situated is very agreeable. The air, that one breathes in there, is very healthy. Next almost everything is build with taste, grace and perfect symmetry. All the important roads are straight lines. The foreigner, who comes here for the first time, can not prevent him self from stopping in ecstasy when he sees the impressive and beautiful extensive ground, the richness of the buildings that surround it. The elegant and strong buildings that used to be the stables of the king.
<249> or the barracks opposite of one of the most beautiful gables of the castle, in front of the square of honour, with its rich decorations, with on one side a luxuriant chapel and behind it the vaulted arches, who serve as public entrance to the inner gardens of the park [499]). This all together makes for a happening, that one has to admire. One can not describe the beautiful interior of the palais and its inhabitants worthy annexes. All that fantasy can bring forward in the impressive and fairylike is nothing compared to what the rich taste of grandeur helped by the genius
<250> of the arts has collected here for wonders [500]). A book is not enough for an accurate, extended and knowledgable description of all these beauties. The palais is build in three main parts. There are 16 large marble statues on the square in front of the palais. The collection

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499) Busken Huet p. 78. "Everybody that sees it [Versailles] recognises immediately the mistakes that are made. But even if the flat, monotone, barracks like, as it seems from a far (yes from a far, than from close by one is flabbergasted by the details and sees how small minded babylon becomes giant like), is not prevented enough, it has reached a purpose. The new history of Europe has no second man made object, so giant of view, as the gardens of Versailles."

500) The major part of the building was erected under the supervision of Louis XIV. This autocrat saw the whole of the world as his pleasure ground and even turned art education into a state monopoly. To him the function of the artist was the most important in the world, he intrusted them his honour. During the building of this palais he decided about even the smallest detail and so it became an accidental collection of supper kitsch. The hygienic circumstances were terrible and in winter the wine froze on the tables.

paintings in Versailles is even bigger than that in the Louvre [501]). The majority of the paintings depict battles, that are won by the french. I was not surprised not to see paintings of the adventures and
<251> battles of Napoleon in Russia. The large gardens around the palais are the highlight of what there is to admire. A viewer gets exhausted of admiration by there variation, the richness of cleaver and beautiful circulation and finally by the large number of art objects that strengthen them. The rich and elegant ponds, the water falls, the surprising pictures that give all of mythology, that jump in view by the composition of the groups, statues, vases and pillars, as well from marble as from bronze and made to a rare perfection, by the most famous artists of Louis 14 time. The view is also remarkable by the picture of
<252> the fairylike cables of the castle, in front of which one has made beautiful terraces and nice green carpets which richness surpass the leaves, the statues and the ponds, the roads and avenues, that spread to all sides, as well in a rambling round about as losing them self from view in a way that makes one notice the end of the perspective. On the one side the beautiful water of the Luissen, in front the canal and on the other side the palaces of Tri'anoi [502]), those beautiful palaces for retreat, that Louis 15 liked so much. When I finally at six o'clock in the evening had returned to Paris, I immediately went to the family of Mr. L[eRoy], who had invited me to pass the evening with them. They had a large company [503])

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501) Busken Huet pp. 79-80. "The most beautiful painting [in the Galerie des Batailles] is a battle by Eugène Delacroix. Among the historical portraits in the other halls there are many that have only value by who they depict. Beautiful I found a portrait of Madam De Staël, strange one of Benjamin Constant, even stranger (than one finds everything together here) a Diana of Pointiers, ... One easily brings some unity in the chaos when one notices the costumes. From Louis XIV to Charles X one sees a certain unity in the party dresses. Also the queens in there stately dresses show a clear family likeness. Lots of ermine, lots of diadems and sceptres. Between Louis XVI and Louis XVIII the Bonapartes press them self. The old french dress disappears and is replaced by the greek-roman. The sovereign ladies in dresses narrow as cases, on which strange low bodies stand, or less stand as fall. Napoleon him self on his crowning painting is dressed in the well known imperial costume. His crown looks like a laurel-wreath. Than suddenly the Orleans. These have broken with all etiquette. The young princesses look like companion ladies at tea. The young princes like terrified second lieutenants. ... Next to the Louvre Versailles disappears into nothing."

502) The "Grand Trianon" was build by Louis XIV. The "Petit Trianon" by his successor Louis XV. Both are elegant rococo palaces and form clearly a reaction to the megalomaniac building of Louis XIV.

503) Zola Emil; Rougons-Macquart part 10. "More people came, vet mothers with skinny daughters, fathers and uncles, still sleepy of there office work, driving large numbers of wadable daughters in front of them. Two lamps with shades of rose paper threw a temperate light over the furniture, covered in warn out yellow velvet, the piano who had lost its varnish, the three smoke covered swiss landscapes, that broke with the black cold nakedness of the white panels. Madam Josserand wore the fire-red dress of the previous evening, only now she had made sleeves to it and a lace pelerin covered her shoulders, while her daughters next to her had worked all day on there costume, that since last winter had constantly changed. Every time when the bell went one heard whispering in the front room. ... Madam Josserand puled on her dress, so she would be silent. Octave, who stood quite close to her, had turned his head, My daughter Berthe, Monsieur Mouret, she said in her most lovely voice. Monsieur Octave Mouret, dear. And she looked at her daughter. These know this view as the signal for attack and as the same time as a remainder of the lessons of the previous evening. She obliged immediately, with the

<253> I left at a quatre past ten to see the famous tragedy "Abufar ou la famile Arabe", of which I was delighted. The next day, Sunday, I was visited by a number of old friends with whom I went to see the house with the exposition of the dead found people [504]). Next we went to the Pantheon, consecrated to the keeping of the ashes of the great man of France. After we had seen the interior of the P[antheon], we descended in the subterranean vaults. Next we mounted the gallery on top of the vault, were we enjoyed a beautiful view of the large capital. Next we went to a nice
<254> ball and after that to the comic opera. On Monday I went to the place "de Vendôme", were I found a large pillar, casted from the canons that were conquered by Napoleon. On top of this pillar stands a statue of this emperor. Next I occupied my self with buying shirts, scarfs, ties, etc. Next I went to the family W., by whom I was invited to have supper. In the evening at seven I went to the theatre of the "Palais royal." On Tuesday I wrote a good number of letters to Moscow and Havre. In the evening I was invited to a ball with the family of Mr. S. While I did not know anyone and did not dance
<255> I was bored and left already by 10 o'clock by carriage to the theatre "de la porte St. Martin." On wednesday I went to R.L. Fould, H. Ganneron & Co., Le roy & son, Thurneyssen & Co. and a number of other destinations [505]). On Wednesday evening I visited the conjurer of which I already wrote. On Thursday I went to the russian embassy, place du Vendome nr. 12, to collect my passport. Next I went to the "Pere la Chaise" [506]) graveyard, next to the museum of Putrain [507]), on the pace "de l'école de la médicine". This museum was unfortunately closed. Next I went to the "hôtel des Invalides". Next I wrote in my travel journal and packed
<256> my possessions for the planed journey of November 27. I asked for the bill, which was 41 fr 50, 5fr for services included. I payed also 45 frank and left 3,5 frank for the domestics. I again enlarged it by 5 fr. for the servant who cleaned my boots. I left in trot with a two wield carriage to the train for the north, were I arrived at a quarter past eight. The first train did not leave before nine in the morning and I again had to wait three quarters of an hour. The second class seats in the train to the north are very good, as well the outside

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indifference of a girl, who is no longer concerned about the outer appearance of a marriage candidate. She played her part very well, showed the grace of a parisian and talked full of fire about the south were she never had been."

504) Pequegnot p. 338. "La Morque. This is the place were one daily puts the bodies of the people that are found dead in the city; they are on display for three days on marble tables about which constantly runs water. The Morque is open everyday afternoon."

505) Remarkably enough Schliemann does not speak of the Paris exchange. Pequegnot p. 45. "The exchange is open on all day with the exception of public holidays, from 10 to 5. The business gatherings are open from 2 till 5."

506) Pequegnot p. 333. "Cimetière du Père Lachaise. It is hard to make one self a picture of this fast space of 86 arpents [old size that is different in many a location] with tombs in all sizes and shapes." In "Analytische studie über das leben und werk Heinrich Schliemanns. Psyche 18. 1964-65. pp. 563-590" and "Psychoanalytic Profile of a Creative Mind - Eros and Thanatos in the Life of Heinrich Schliemann. Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics 15. 1967. pp. 200-219" Niederland, William G. tells us that Schliemann had a fascination for death, which would be one of the keys to his character.

507) Pequegnot p. 167. "Musée Dupuytren. It is situated at the rue de l'École-de-Médecine, opposite of the rue Hautefenille. This small museum is elegantly decorated; ... One sees a number of osteological objects in wax and a number of parts affected by illnesses, conserved or imitated in wax

as the inside offer a
<257> very nice sight. The walls as well as the seats are covered with nice cushions, that leave nothing to wish for. Still I choose a seat in the first class than I wanted good company. Not withstanding the large number of arrivals that we made, I enjoyed my self thoroughly with the beautiful landscape, as it constantly offered it self on both sides, as a pearl to the eye. I viewed joyfully the great care with which one occupies it self here with the growing of grapes. One grows the grapes in different ways. Sometimes one uses fields for small grape bushes, sometimes
<258> one sees fields covered with high walls, along which one leads the grape up wards. This way of growing grapes is much faster, in this way they get light during all parts of the day and arises, in a totally natural way, a much larger heat than on the fields. The variation in views seemed to harmonize with that of the travellers, that got in and went out in large numbers at every station. In this way I was in the position to starts numerous of conversations with numerous of people. I, among others, talked with a very interesting gentleman, who
<259> made many a strong remark about the marital live of the french. According to him it only rarely occurs that a parisian lives happily with his wife. They are exhausted at an early age by the energetic chase of fornication, the terrible inclination to the stealing of love, this sweet gift from heaven. They can, know and feel nothing. They do not care for there woman, that they constantly neglect and follow constantly there reproachable ways, that weakens them and makes sure that there bodily and moral possibilities disappear. Live, this web of events, also
<260> quickly pas for these man in nothing but a continuation of there crimes. At three o'clock in the afternoon we passed the location, were in August this disastrous accident happened. Truly, fate could not have chosen a better place to make this accident wors. The train travels on top of a dike here in a moor-like terrain. The hight of the rails is 30 foot. AT the bottom of both sides one finds 20 feet deep pools. According to the french newspapers
<261> who tried to lessen the accident, there were 14 casualties, in our russian papers they wrote that 60 people had died and I believe that these last are right, than it was hard, one was caught under a large amount of carriages and in 20 feet of mud, under water [508]). Around six in the evening we arrived at the belgium border, were our possessions were very carefully investigated by the customs. On there questions, about objects, that came under the law

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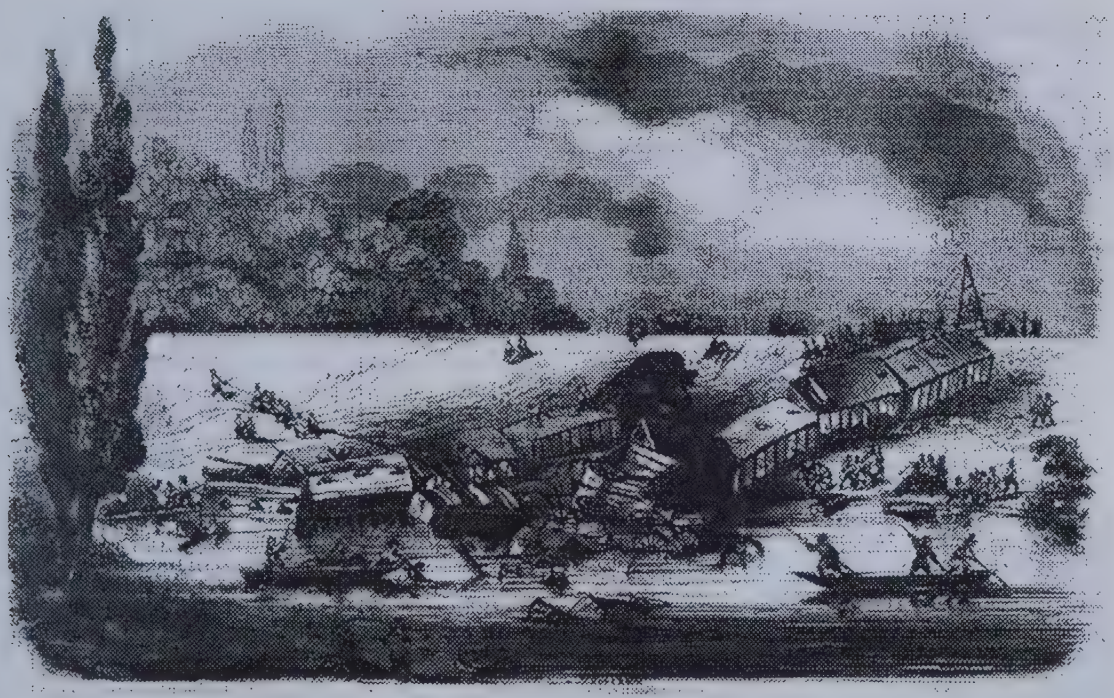
508) This accident happened on July 8, 1846. What the french side concerns we find a report in L'Illustration, Journal Universel No. 177. Vol. VII of Saturday July 18. "On the 8th of this month the train to the north left Paris for Brussels at seven in the morning, it had 28 carriages and transported 210 travellers. At half past three, after Arras and opposite the village of Fampoux, on a dike of 7 meters high surrounded by an old peat field covered with water, the train existed of two locomotives, two first class carriages, two second class carriages, two baggage carriages, six post carriages and six third class carriages, derailed. ... How many people were there in the 24 carriages that derailed? One does not know yet, but one has an approximate number. When one thinks about the enormous fall that these 24 vehicles made, one thanks heaven that there are only 14 death and a few more wounded." Some time before the "Journal du Commerce d'Anver", July 11, had given two, on some places contradicting, reports of this disaster in the same paper. About the casualties they remark: "the number of wounded is considerable, but in general they are not to bad." How the russian papers brought this accident I don't know, but the "Nederlandsche Staats-courant, No. 163. Saturday July 11 tells us the following. "On the just opened rail way from Paris to Brussels a terrible accident has happened on July 8. ... Thanks to the confusion help came not soon enough. There have to be at least fifty unhappy ones killed by the fall or drawn in the moor."



Opération de sauvetage aporès la catastrophe arrivée sur le chemin de fer du Nord, le 8 juillet 1846

<262> I answered, that I had bought a large number of scarfs and ties that were not seamed. A meaningful wink of mine was enough to make them understand that I would give them a gratification. So my silk materials past without me paying taxes. These impudent man even had the nerve to look in my pockets for things that I wanted to take with me without fraud. I do not think that the train to the north will bring much profit, judging by the number of people
<263> that travelled together with me, the route is not much used. Not withstanding that they do a good job, while they have hope through the number of lines that are connected and come together on this line. Finally at a quarter past nine in the evening we arrived in Brussels, the capital of Belgium. During my stay in Amsterdam I had heard quit a lot about B[russels] that one considers the most beautiful
<264> city in the world. And so I was somewhat disappointed in my expectations of B[russels], my first impression was not so good, but that would probably have been different if they had not commanded it so much. I made hotel "de Suede" [509]), that was recommended to me by one of the travellers on the train, to my shelter. I got a nice apartment above the square. After I had put away my luggage I went to the dining room, were I had them give me a first class super, that existed of pastry, beef, veal and poultry,
<265> pudding and a bottle of wine. I eat with two young swedish man, who looked very stupid and, like they tolled me, travelled for there enjoyment. I felt that I was sinking away of tiredness, I immediately after supper fell a sleep. I woke up at seven in the morning and after I had asked for a cup of coffee with milk, did I leave in my travelling cloth to see the

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509) Baedeker; Belgique et Hollande. 1878 "Hotel de Suède, Rue de l'Evêque 43,45"

city. I honestly have to admit that never before in my life I saw in such small a circle so many palaces and beautiful houses. B[russels] is build on the side of a mountain. The streets are brought and well paved.
<266> The architecture of the houses is like that in Paris, good of style, but not impressive. The cables are covered by chalk or oil paint. Not knowing were to go I crossed the city in all directions. I started by the large cathedral, the ancient gothic looking church. The interior offered nothing special, except from some beautiful windows [510]). Next I went to the park in the middle of the city. Surrounded by beautiful palaces this part gives a beautiful view. The roads and
<267> and avenues are quite nice. On one side of this park I found a large pavilion, were they give concerts in summer. Standing along the avenues are nice busts, that even while they are small, contribute in giving the total a good atmosphere.

The Royal Palace 1840

The royal palace, that views the park, looks like a nice civilian house in St Petersburg, without it having to offer anything special to the eye of the spectator. Next I went through a number of nice streets, crossed the square in front of the great theatre and came in the "rue de la madeleine" [511]), which is valued as the most beautiful street in this city. Next I passed a large number of book shops
<268> Taste asked me to go in as to buy "la ..... and ....., written by .... [512])This book, that normally cost 2 fr I obtained, only by putting force on the salesman, for 6 fr. This work interests me very much, even if I start to believe less and less of its contents. Making use of the opportunity I again bought some italian comedies for 3 fr. Next I accidently found

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510) St. Michielskathedraal. The oldest part originates from the 13th century. The famous windows originate from the 16th and 17th century. It is a nice example of the northern, or "brabant" gothic style.

511) Baedeker; Belgique et Hollande 1910; "La Rue de la Madeleine, is always very lively and is bordered by shops and some houses with gables in the Renaissance style."

512) The title and name of the author were made totally illegible by Schliemann (on a later date?).

"mannekepis", a fountain existing of a child standing in a very indecent way [513]). Next I

went home to cut open the pages of the books that I had bought, than it is not allowed to bring
<269> books into Prussia, if these books have not jet been used [514]). At eleven thirty I left for Antwerp, were I arrived a quarter to one. With me sat a deliciously dressed french lady. I almost dared not enter the carriage, were she immediately started a conversation with me. As usual she immediately asked if I was an englishman. Immediately after she knew that I was a russian she made me thousands of compliments and started a very friendly conversation. She told me, that she lived in Paris, were she
<270> was married with a man of her country, a real scapegrace of a parisian, who leads a very immoral life, in his want for the animal like and who treats his poor wife bad, all day long. She liked me and immediately asked me a lot of questions about how we respected our russian woman and among others she asked how we dressed our russian woman. While we find our happiness in our fatherly life, etc., I answered here that we see our woman as something special, as heavenly creatures and as precious
<271> gifts, that the good Lord can give us to enjoy, than we honour our woman as goddesses, than we only live for them and we only work for them. We always use the most agreeable as to turn there lives into paradise on earth. Such an address by me surprised the lady very much. She cried and complained [515]) about here terrible fate. I believe there is no country were one loves a happy family live as much as in ours. The surroundings of B[russels] are beautiful thanks to fruitful and friendly meadows that until the horizon are covered with thousands of animals. Every now and than a beautiful, by gardens surrounded, country estate erects it self as an oases. After arrival in Antwerp, I again was hindered by messenger boys, who have a great knowledge of faces and who have learned to recognize foreigners at first glance. Without using there services I first went to see the tall tower of the cathedral. I got a bit tiered by climbing the 600 steps of the revolving stair in the tower, that is without
<273> contradiction the highest in Europe [516]). When I finally arrived on top, the trouble of climbing was rewarded by a beautiful view of Antwerp and the beautiful surroundings that one has there. Antwerp, a city of 35.000 souls [517]), is a large bastion on the boarders of the Schelde, that is negotiable. Deep moats and high roads surround her. Behind the cathedral I

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513) This statue of a urinating boy was made in 1619 by Hiëronymus Duquesnoy the elder and served originally as water supply for this part of the city.

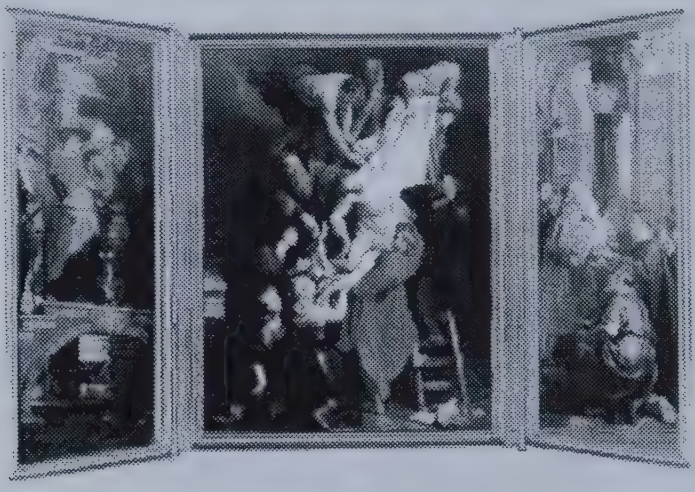
514) Cole p. 72. "In the first half of the nineteenth century Germany was even less able than France to compete with the developing industries of Grait Brittain. Divided politically into a large number of separate States, each with its own economic policy and its own Customs duties levied largely for revenue."

515) Schliemann writes "pleignant" which I read as "plaindre".
It is highly understandable that Schliemann's later marriages never reached the perfection that he gave to this poor lady that probably only wanted to know what the russian ladies wore and looked like.

516) This tower is 123 meter high. By then Schliemann had already seen higher towers in Hamburg. Nikolaikirche 145 meter, Michaeliskirche 143 meter and the Petrikirche 127 meter.

517) I have not been able to check this number. In 1900 there lived 272.831 people in Antwerp.

found a large square, with a bronze statue of the painter Rembrandt [518]), After having seen the tower I went for dinner to the "marché aux bless" [519]) and later on
<274> I bought admittance to see the interior of the cathedral that was closed. The church is very beautiful and decorated with many a painting by Rembrandt [520]), among which the descent from the cross of Jesus Christ.



Also the erection of the cross is very special. The pale, sallow face of the saviour, who is dyeing, his bloody hands and feet, the perfect image of the holly virgin at the feet of her son, the dusk of the evening, all is made very beautiful. Next I waked along the harbour, were I, to my surprise, found only a few ships.
<275> The majority of the ships enters, by way of the Schelde, the city, were a lot of business is done. Antwerp has almost no beautiful houses. The architecture is neglected, probably while they give all there attention to trade. The warehouses, even while they are small, are beautiful and large buildings. At four thirty I returned to Brussels. On the return trip I found my self in the company of an italian and some englishman. After I had taken a good supper I went on with my travelling journal. To my description of Brussels I have to ad that of the monument, that
<276> is situated at the place of the martyrs, as a memorial to those that fell in the war of 1832 against the Dutch [521]). Belgium is represented by a nice high allegorical statue of

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518) Since 1844 there is a statue of the "real" Antwerp painter Rubens on this square.

519) "marché aux bless". All market is this surrounding have dutch names and there is no market of the wounded. So I wonder if Schliemann meant the large-, the corn-, the glove- or the egg-market. The great or "grote markt" is by size and importance the most likely candidate.

520) This church possesses no paintings by Rembrandt. The paintings that Schliemann describes are "the descent of the Cross" (1612) and "Resurrection" (1611) by Rubens. He also must have seen "The Ascension of Maria" (1626) by the same painter.

521) After the fall of Napoleon I in 1814 Belgium and the Netherlands became a new kingdom, with as capitals The Hague and Brussels. In 1830 there was a insurrection in the southern part of this new kingdom. After a month of street fighting in Brussels and a failed ten day campaign, Belgium became independent in 1830. However this independent was not

marble, at the foot of which one finds a lion and a number of people, representing the martyrs, who look lamentable. This large and beautiful statue is situated in the centre of an excavation. One finds it in the centre of a small cellar [522]). The walls of this excavation are covered
<277> with lists, who give the names of the victims and there place of birth.
November 29
This morning I got up at six o'clock. After having packed my possessions I brought them to the dining room, were I paid my bill, which was 13,5. I gave 2 fr for the servants, than in whatever country or city I am, I like to satisfy the greed of the servants. For the traveller it probably does not mean to much to pay 20 per cent. For the servants on the contrary a friendly allowance is very agreeable. It stays for a long time in there memory
<278> and they show all kinds of services to those that show them self generous [523]). At seven I left by omnibus, which brought me to the train, which station undoubtedly is the most beautiful I ever saw. The weather was very fine and we enjoyed the rays of the sun in all there beauty. The beauty of nature, just as that of the lovable landscape, that accompanied me, titillated my imagination and so I was very gay. Nothing is as pleased as a trip by train. The crowed of travellers that get in and out at every station, the numerous conversations that one has
<279> with persons that one will never see again, the large number of different objects that swift as an arrow fly along the train, this all gives the traveller the best means to try the possibilities of his senses. Soon we passed, nice well kept fields, surrounded by nice hedges of nuts and coppice, soon meadows, that not withstanding the advanced season still were green, soon we went through long dark subterranean passages, dug through the side of
<280> an enormous rock. While passing valleys we were on high dikes of more than fifty feet. The mountains erected there tops seemingly up to the ..... a lot nicer than the mountains I had seen in France .....

The next 13 lines of this page and the first of the next are unreadable since they were written aboard a moving boat. See page 287 of this journal.

<281> .... Luik. We descended the side of the mountain with the help of a strong cable and a steam-engine that stood on the mountain. During the descent of this slope the city of Luik in the valley made a very nice picture. One tells me that it looks much like Algiers in Africa. After passing Leuven and Luik and a lot of other less important cities, we finally came to Verviers, were we changed carriages and were we, while we were waiting, finally had the opportunity to refresh our self. After I had entered the new carriage I found myself

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recognised until 1839 by the (dutch) king Willem I. In 1846 one was still busy regulating the relations between the Netherlands and Belgium. Gennadius Library no. 282. "Amsterdam 31/7/1846 ... the mercantile treaty with Belgium is signed yesterday. Details are still unknown; in no way will it stay without influence on coffee since there will be bought large quantities for this country at the next auctions." The memorial that Schliemann describes is in the honour of the, in the revolution fallen, count and poet Willem de Mérode.

522) Schliemann writes "calier" which I read as "cellier"

523) Meyer K&F p. 103. "He gave generously tips, probably because he remembered his own poverty, that lay behind him." Meyer K&F p. 107. "After leaving France mercantile interests brought him to Antwerp and Brussels."

<282> , to my great pleasure, eye to eye with two small france girls [524]), who did not hesitate to start a conversation with me. I enjoyed my self terrible with the little pranksters, who told me thousands of things about the ways of there country. In the midst of all the questions that they put to me, they asked me if the french woman were more beautiful than the russian. I answered that this was a very sensitive question, that I could not decide, while it
<283> totally depends on taste, but that they were formidable competitors for the moscovian ladies if everybody had my taste. They waved me farewell for a long time and left me a pin as souvenir [525]). At the prussian border they asked us for our passports, that were returned to us in Aix la Chapelle [526]). In this last village our luggage was carefully examined by the prussian officers. I was afraid that my unseamed ties and scarfs would pull attention, but luckily they dit not pull any attention.
<284> Someone, with whom I travelled together, tolled me that they had invented a way in french to compress peat [527]), in almost the same way as they make coal. I wish it were true, than the advantageousness of this product would give a lot of profit in the keeping up of railways, especially in Russia were, as a consequence of transportation, the price of coal is very high. At six in the evening we arrived in Cologne. I took a
<285> carriage and had me brought to the steamboat, that would leave at ten o'clock for Koblenz. After I had bought a return trip first class, which is much cheaper, I brought my luggage on board and next went to a restaurant which is called "la Bourse", were I had them give me a good super and half a bottle of wine. The large dining room, that was furnished in the french style, but were the tables were not covered, was filled with boys in there sunday best, who enjoyed them self by smoking there pipes or cigars and listening to beautiful music of some musicians, who played the violin
<286> at the end of the hall. After having satisfied my hunger I went to the theatre. Used as I am to so much beautiful performances by the great actors and actresses in London and Paris, I did not expect to much of the performance in Cologne. I came at the moment that the first act had just finished. One played "les trois Musquetiers". Even while the decorations were coarser than ever I saw them, I really enjoyed my self by watching the gossiping ladies

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524) If these girls were really french is doubt full. French is the native language in this part of Belgium.

525) Carrol, Lewis; Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865). "It looked good-natured, she thought: still it has very long claws and a great many teeth, so she felt that it ought to be treated with respect. 'Cheshire Puss', she began, rather timidly, ..." The thirty year old Carroll (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson) wrote this book for the then ten year old Alice Liddell. Pudney, John; Lewis Carroll and his world. London 1976 p. 100. "Whenever he travelled by train or walked by the sea, Carroll carried puzzles for the instant amusement of little girls, and on the beach he armed himself with pins to assist the little things to hold up their sometimes voluminous garments when they paddled. He always took care to establish himself socially with parents and guardians. Shortly after his arrival at the Dyers' [a boardinghouse in Eastbourne were he spend his holidays] he noted: 'it seems that I could if I liked, make friends with a new set of nice children every day!...'"

526) Taking this route Schliemann passed, without noting it, one of Europe's political oddities of his days, Neutral-Moresnet. In this 337 hectare large "country" was the largest Zinc mine of Europe. At the Vienna Congress of 1814-15 one could not decide to which country if belonged and so it became more or less independent. After 1918 it became a part of Belgium.

527) Here Schliemann used the dutch word "turf" instead of the french "tourbe".

<287> that I could see. The actors were not bad. The lacked however the real pliancy, politeness and lightness of the parisians, but those I did not expect in a city like Cologne. The hall was large and could contain more than a thousand visitors. All seats were taken, which speaks in favour of the character of the inhabitants of Cologne. Under pressure of time I had to leave before the piece had finished. Arrived at the steamboat, that I found again, I went on with writing in my travel journal. Which however went badly on account of the shaking and <288> jolting of the steamboat. There were 10 passengers in the first class cabin. After I had made a kind of pillow from my coat, I went, with my head on it, to sleep on the bench. I slept deep, with my limbs spread for comfort. At a quarter to seven in the morning I mounted the bridge. The view was beautiful. Even while darkness prevented us to see far, did the high and forest rich coasts offer a beautiful picture. At eight thirty we arrived in Koblenz. I immediately went to buy a ticket of admission for
<289> fort "Ehrenbreitenstein" [528]), situated opposite of the city on an enormous rock of 300 foot high. The city of Koblenz, offers nothing special. The architecture of the houses is nice, but she carries the imprint of the small village. For the wanted ticket I went to the fort. A ship-bridge passes over the beautiful river Rhine. On the other side one had a kind of fair. I mounted on foot the very large rock, that seemingly losses it self in the clouds, this enormous, by nature made, stone wall,
<290> that seemingly wanted to drop it self on me. On the top of the mountain erects the fort it self in all its largeness. A revolving road, usable by carriages, went up wards. I became a bit tiered by the constant rising. Finally I arrived on top. A second officer showed me the specialities, that one sees while watching the Rhine and its beautiful, large and impressive surroundings. Soon a steamboat past, it pulled two or three boats and made a large wave in the quiet surrounding that domineers

Here in the middle of a line this part of Schliemann's travel journal ends. The next twenty eight pages have clearly been written on before they were cut out. The surviving part after this gap is dated February 15, 1847 [529]).

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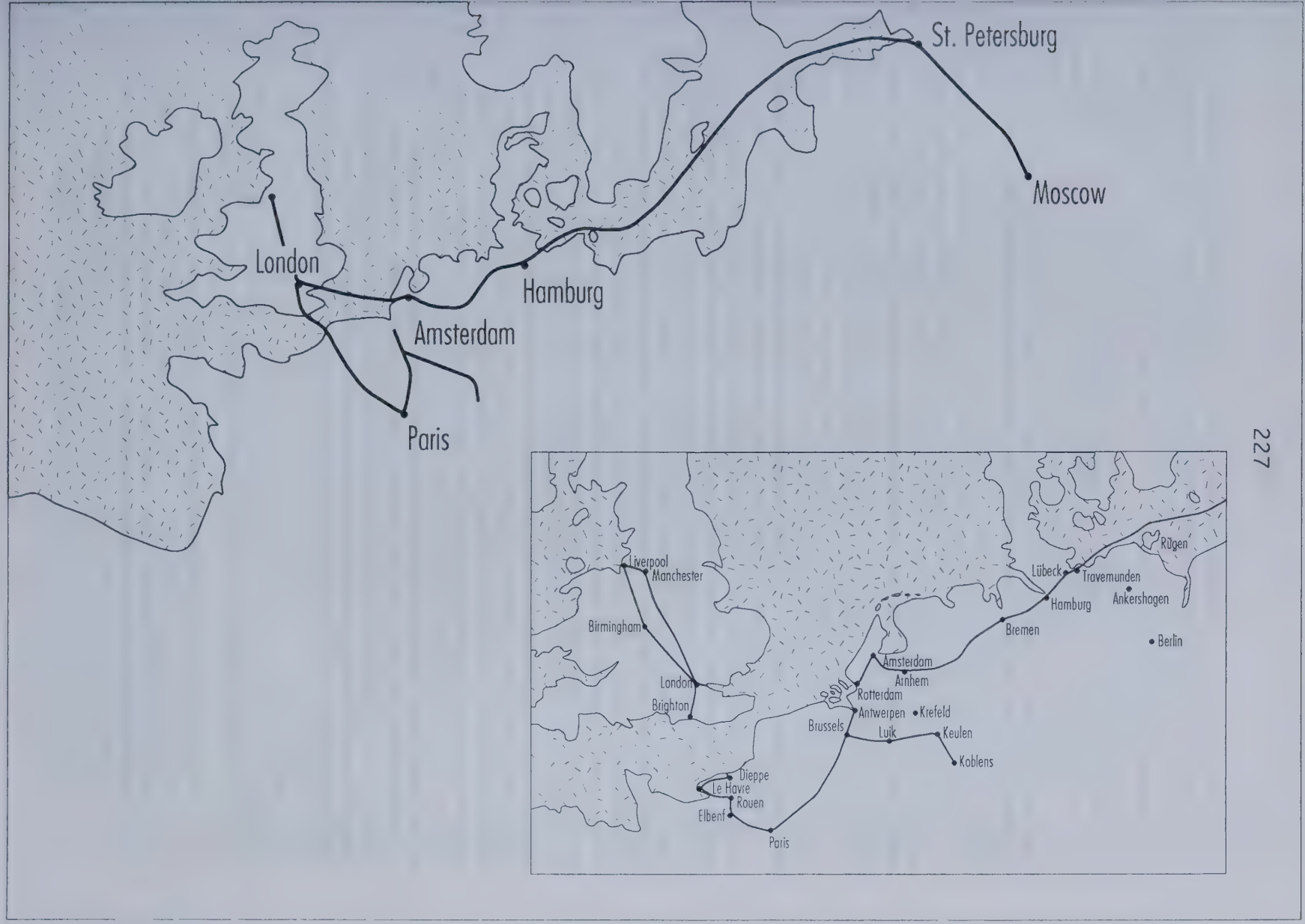
528) Fay, Theodore Sedwick (1807-1898); The Rhine

Oh come, gentle pilgrim,
From far distant strand,
Come, gaze on the pride
Of the old German land;
On that wonder of nature,
That vision divine
Of the past and the present,
And when, from the red
Gleaming tow'rs of Mayence
Enchanted thou'rt borne
In bewildering trance,
By death-breathing ruin,
By life-giving wine -
By the dark-frowning turrets,
Old Ehrenbreitstein!

529) Meyer K&F p. 103. "This well kept book is bound in brown letter; the last 28 pages are later taken out. It is no longer possible to find out, if they recorded Schliemann's live after his return to St. Petersburg or his second European Trip, ..." This remark of Meyer is totally un understandable for me. It's clear that these 28 pages contained the rest of this trip in one way or an other.


St. Petersburg
Moscow
London
Hamburg
Amsterdam
Paris
Liverpool
Manchester
Birmingham
London
Brighton
Dieppe
Le Havre
Rouen
Elbenf
Paris
Brussels
Antwerpen
Rotterdam
Amsterdam
Arnhem
Luik
Krefeld
Keulen
Koblens
Bremen
Hamburg
Lübeck
Travemunden
Ankershagen
Rügen
Berlin

The return trip

Since the last part of Schliemann's journal is missing we will have to do some reconstructing to get him back home in Russia. In his american biography he tells us what route he took during this trip.

"In 1846 I was 4 times on business in Moscow, and on the 1st October of the same year I went, with a view to extend my mercantile connexions, via Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Amsterdam & Rotterdam to London, visited subsequently Liverpool, Havre, Paris, Bruxelles, Cologne, Coblentz, Düsseldorf, Crefeld, and returned by way of Amsterdam, Hamburg and Berlin to St. Petersburg, where I arrived on the 14th December, 1846." [530])

As we have seen did Schliemann buy a return ticket to Cologne and so we can expect that he returned to this place before he went on the last leg of his journey. It is highly logical that he visited Krefeld since he had ask Schröder Amsterdam for a letter of recommendation for a silk manufacturer and merchant that lived in this city. That he returned to Amsterdam is a sure fact. On December 4, 1846 consular Quack, in Amsterdam, again wrote out a passport for him [531]). According to this document Schliemann had the intention to travel by way of St. Pietersburg to Moscow. To get an impression of how Schliemann might have travelled we will use "Reichard's Passagier auf der Reise" Berlin 1846 [532]) There is no reason to believe that Schliemann used this book, but he will not have had to many alternatives if it comes to the route that he had to follow. We however immediately can see that we only can take a guess, by using the information contained this book, if we look at the route, that was advised by it, to get from Amsterdam to Hamburg. There was no direct train from Amsterdam to Hamburg. According to Reichard this distance was only to be done by "Extrapost" The book gives us the following route: Amsterdam - Naarden - Amersfoort - Apeldoorn - Deventer - Almelo - Ootmarsum - Nordhorn. This trip took 24 hours and coast 40 guilder. In Nordhorn one took the german post and went by way of Lingen - Cloppenburg - Ahlhorn - Wildeshausen - Delmenhorst to Bremen. In Bremen one took the express post to Hamburg. As we have seen in his journal, Schliemann took for his trip from Bremen to Amsterdam a somewhat different route. He went by coach to Arnhem and than by train to Amsterdam. In this way he had to travel for a longer period with a german coach, but made good for that with the much speedier train trip from Arnhem to Amsterdam. It is highly possible that Schliemann used this same route when he went back to Hamburg, but he can also have taken

530) Webber p. 12

531) This time Schliemann's place of birth is given as Neubucken

532) Reichard's Passagier auf der Reise in Deutschland und der Schweiz, nach Amsterdam, Brüssel, Kopenhagen, London, Mailand, Paris, St. Petersburg, Pest, Stockholm, Venedig und Warschau. Ein Reisehandbuch für Jedermann, 13 Auflage, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Friedrich August Herbig, Berlin 1846. Verlag von Fr. A. Helbig. 2 Teile in 1 Band, mit einer Faltkarte: Postkarte von Mitteleuropa nach authentischen Quellen bearbeitet und gezeichnet von Böhm, Königl. Preußischer Leutnant a. D., revidirt von einem königl. Postbeamten in Berlin mit Bezeichnung der fahrbaren Eisenbahnen.

an alternative route that left Bremen for what it was and went strait on to Hamburg. He certainly went to Hamburg cause he still had some unfinished business there. From Hamburg to Berlin we have a number of possibilities. The most likely is by post to Bergedorf and from there by train to Berlin [533]). It is also possible that he took the extra post from Hamburg, by way of Celle to Braunschweig and from there by train via Magdeburg [534]) to Wittenberg and finally , again a coach, to Berlin. This would be a rather round about way, but Reichard seems to be in favour of it. To get from Berlin to St Petersburg there again are a number of possibilities. The fastest route went by Küstrin - Landsberg a.d. Warthe - Friedeberg - Woldenberg - Deutsch-Krone - Jastrow - Braunsberg - Brandenburg (Ostpreußen) to Königsberg. As an alternative one could take the train to Stettin and from there by extra post by way of Cöslin - Stolpe and Danzig to Dirschau, were one connected with the route that I gave above and so could go on to Königsberg. From there one went by post to Pogauen - Tapiau and Taplacken to Memel, next one crossed the border by Laugszargen and went to Tauroggen in russian Lithuania. As to travelling in Russia Reichard gives us the following information: " The fastest, easiest and safest way to travel in Russia is by Post. It is however absolutely necessary that one knows a little of the russian language, especially in the interior of the empire and in the country side. Till Narva all postmasters are able to speak german and in Jamburg there are german innkeepers; only in the provinces of ancient Russia, Moscow, Kiew, Kasan, Tobolsk, etc they speak nothing but russian. .... When one is not afraid of the cold, against which one can warm one self, so one can best travel in winter on a sledge; it is safe and fast, one has its carriage, when one has one, bound, together with its wheels, on a sledge and makes good progress, since all rivers are solidly frozen and the roads broad and flat. These broad and flat roads, the safety of the roads and the clear nights in winter and summer, make travelling by night even for frightful people possible and advisable. By the surroundings countryside one loses nothing, it is mainly boring...." After Memel traveling in winter certainly has it adventages since there are no bridges to cross the rivers anymore. From there on the route goes on by way of Riga to St. Petersburg. At the last moment one gets, according to Reichards the best view that there is to behold.

> "Paris and London do not give such an impression as the nearing and entering of this beautiful northern metropolis of the empire does by its view of the many beautiful palaces and colossal buildings, the beautiful canals and the long and wide streets. Here the visitor meets with every step that he takes the many, the striking and the strange, the beautiful, colossal and gigantic, here asiatic luxury, that borders on squander, pares with fine european taste, ..."

When Schliemann exactly arrived in Petersburg and how long he stayed there is unknown. Clear is that he went on to Moscow were he again wrote in his journal on February 1847 [535]). In Amsterdam too they knew that Schliemann was on his way to Moscow. On December 19 they wrote him a letter to the address of Wladimier Alexejeff in Moscow

"We hope that you have arrived safely and we like to give you the following information." [536])

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533) According to the edition of 1847 there was a train that went all the way from Hamburg to Berlin. It's possible that this line was already in operation in December 1846.

534) The direct rail connection from Magdeburg to Berlin opened in 1847

535) Webber p 12. "At the end of 1848 I went for the 5th time to Moscow" It seems that Schliemann wanted to strick his early 1847 trip to Moscow out of his life when he wrote his american biography.

536) Gennadius Library no 357

Minna Meincke

Minna Meincke

"The son modestly answered the pressing Father:
Really, it too was my wish, like yours, to choose one of the daughters of our neighbours. We grew up together, in earlier days we played together next to the well in the market, and I often have protected them from the youthful wildness of the boys." 537)

The world was small in the nineteenth century, especially if you lived in a village. Everybody knew everybody and so many a man knew his wife from childhood days. Matches were often early made. According to his official autobiography Schliemann too seems to have know already at a very early age who his wife would be. He had his "official" childhood bride.

"I was continually laughed at by every one except two young girls, Louise and Minna Meincke, the daughters of a farmer in Zahren, a village only a mile distant from Ankershagen; the former of whom was my senior by six years, the latter of my own age. Not only did they not laugh at me, but, on the contrary, they always listened to me with profound attention, especially Minna, who showed me the greatest sympathy and entered into all my vast plans for the future. Thus a warm attachment sprang up between us, and in our childish simplicity we exchanged vows of eternal love." 538)

Unfortunately this young love was to run into trouble on the scandal that Schliemann's father created. For the self respecting families of Ankershagen and surroundings it was no longer possible to stay in touch with such a shameful family. And so the son had to suffer by the actions of the father.

"But my mother's death coincided with another misfortune, which resulted in all our acquaintances suddenly turning their backs upon us and refusing to have any further intercourse with us. I did not care much about the others; but to see the family of Meincke no more, to separate altogether from Minna - never to behold her again - this was a thousand times more painful to me than my mother's death, which I soon forgot under my overwhelming grief for Minna's loss." 539)

Poor mother, father and son both thought more of an other girl than of her and both had a hard time through this other. Dark shadows on the future. The father has to fight and swindle in his try to save his good income and in the end lost all. The son looked at his future with a broken heart, but he was luckier than his father. His childhood bride did not give up on him. At least that is what he tells us.

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537) Goethe; Hermann und Dorothea

538) Ilios pp. 3-4

539) Ilios p. 5

"A few days before my departure from Neu Strelitz, on Good Friday 1836, I accidentally met Minna Meincke, whom I had not seen for more than five years, at the house of Mr. C.E. Laué. I shall never forget that interview, the last I ever had with her. She had grown much, and was now fourteen years old. Being dressed in plain black, the simplicity of her attire seemed to enhance her fascinating beauty. When we looked at each other, we both burst into a flood of tears and fell speechless into each other's arms. Several times we attemted to speak, but our emotion was too great; neither of us could articulate a word. But soon Minna's parents entered the room, and we had to separate. It took me a long time to recover from my emotion. I was now sure that Minna still loved me, and this thought stimulated my ambition. Nay, from that moment I felt within me a boundless energy, and was sure that with unremitting zeal I could raise myself in the world and show that I was worthy of her." 540)

And so young Heinrich had regained his love and found the force that would drive him forwards. It's like Goethe already observed in "Wahrheit und Dichtung":

"There engagement was praiseworthy, I gladly lissened to them, when they spoke of the many means and ways in which one could obtain something; they most liked to talk about people that now were rich, but who had started out with nothing. Others had started out as poor mercantile servants, who had made them self indispensable for there patrons and were finally raised to there sons in law; still others had a small stall, with sulphurwire and the like, so enlarged and improved, that they now looked like rich mercantile man. Especially young man that stood good on there legs, the massage boy and the helpers of brokers, those that undertook all kinds of assignments, especially for the helpless rich, could feed them self well. We all liked to hear that and everybody thought something, when he depicted the moment, that he him self would have so much, not just to get forwards in the world, but even to be extra specially lucky. Nobody however seemed to take these conversations more serious than Pylades, who finally admitted, that he loved a girl extraordinarily and that they had promised them self to each other. The financial circumstances of his parents did not allow him to go to the academy; he however had a beautiful hand of writing, he could calculate and spoke the modern languages fluently, and would now, in the hope of homely happiness, do his utmost best." 541)

It's clear that a man will never forget such an incentive and so we don't have to be surpriced when we find this theme repeated in a letter from 1861 to Lentz.

"When I was poor and unlucky, pride forbid me to ask for her; the hope, to get her when I became rich, fired my energy and paved the road to fortune and respectability for me." 542)

Years later,however, in 1875, the Meincke sisters dive up again in a letter to his childhood friend Wilhelm Rust, who had stayed in Mecklenburg and had made good there.

"I also will visit Meincke's Sisters, as soon as I come to Mecklenburg again. We were great friends as seven year old children; later on I have never seen them again." 543)

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540) Ilios p. 6

541) Goethe; Aus meinem Leben. Wahrheit und Dichtung. Erster Theil. Fünftes Buch.

542) Meyer Briefwechel I. p. 109

543) Abenteuer Meines Lebens p. 206

It seems that Rust, in his letter, had told Schliemann something about there old friends, among whom the brother of the Meincke girls and now, as a kind of after thought, the two girls are mentioned by Schliemann. They had been fun in his youth and he will visit them when he has an opportunity. So what about the his great childhood love, what about the meeting of 1836? Why does he tell Rust that he never had seen them again? Is he really forgotten one of the most deciding moments of his life? It of course is possible that he did not care to remember that moment. In the end it had proven to be nothing but an illusion.

"No sooner had I rendered myself indispensable to Messrs. B.H. Schröder & Co. in my new career, and thus obtained a practically independent position, than I hastened to write to the friend of the Meincke family, Mr, C.E. Laué of Neu Strelitz, describing to him all my adventures, and begging him to ask Minna at once for me in marriage. But, to my horror, I received a month later the heartrending answer, that she was just married." [544])

And so in the end she had forsaken her promise and had become untrue to there common childhood dream. Or had this only been Heinrich's dream, had Minna really knew how Heinrich felt? After the publication of his official biography Schliemann send a copy to Minna and gave some explanation in a letter.

"Should you feel that I have exaggerated the friendship that we had for 50 years, so please pardon me and see it as a sign of my old affection." [545])

So what should we think about it? Remarkably enough this driving force in Schliemann's live is wanting from his American biography and in the 1842 letter to his sisters there too is not a trace of Minna to be found. In this letter we find an other girl that seemed to have made something of an impression on the young man. On route to Hamburg he visited his family in Kalkhorst and there he specially noticed his cousin Sophie.

"... we had u touching farewell, I pressed some burning kisses on my cousins mouth, ..." [546])

And it's not only that we nowhere find a trace of Minna in Schliemann's early letters, there is also no indication that any woman in particular was on his mind. Even if we believe Schliemann's official autobiography and accept that Minna was the driving force behind his success in his early days, than we still can be sure that he did not close his eyes for the feminine beauty that surrounded him. [547]) What this concerned it's clear that Amsterdam offered him quit a lot that pleased at least his eyes. So much even that he saw it as one of the virtues of this city that stayed in his memory as we can see from a letter, written in 1862, to the italian count Bassi.

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544) Ilios p. 11

545) Meyer Briefwechel II p. 114

546) Meyers Briefwechsel I p. 12

547) Payne, Robert; The Gold of Troy. New York 1959. p. 28. "... he would have nothing to do with women. This was not particularly difficult, for he found a substitute in gazing at the equisite wax models in the hairdressers' windows. ... With the passion of a poor mans dedication to making a fortune, he gazed at them with the hopeless abandonment of a suitor who knows that the fairy princess will never pay him a moment's attention, and sometimes he thought of Minna and hoped he was worthy of her."

"... I'm anxious to hear what kind of impression Amsterdam has made on you; also its beautiful girls." [548])

In his official biography Schliemann is somewhat unclear about the year in which he asked for Minna's hand. This however is easily established. She was only just married when he came with his proposal. Minna Meinke married Friedrich Richer on November 25, 1847 [549]) So bad luck hit Schliemann at the end of 1847. Now I've only examined the available data up to the end of 1846 and so I don't know what exactly happened at the end of 1847. However while writing this book I more and more started to wonder why Schliemann left it so late. By the end of 1846 he already had enough money to take a trip around europe. Would an income on which one could do such a thing not have been enough to impress the Meincke family, would it not have been enough for Minna's father to give his daughter to him? Already in Amsterdam he had an income that was higher than that of many a family and with the firm of Schröder & Co. his prospects would have been good enough for many a young man to marry, but seemingly not for Schliemann. In non of his letters he ever talked about here and as far as I can judge he never wrote to her. It seems that he expected this girl to wait for him without any news of his development, without ever sending her some hopeful report of his progress in the world. It also seems that he was not curious after her. He did not inform after her well being in any of the letters that I know. Now reading his travell journal the whole story gets even more remarkable. On his way from Petersburg to Lübeck Schliemann passed, as we have seen, the coast of Mecklenburg. Mecklenburg the land were his beloved childhood bride lived. The land that had given him the girl that drove him to his fortune. What malangoly thoughts would such a land evoque in the brain of a man that's hopelessly in love and knows that he has almost reached the point were he can ask for her hand. Seeing this land that still housed his hearts desire Schliemann remarked:

"The view of the mother (home) country after so many years separation is calculated to excite in every one feelings of the greatest joy. I however must confess to my shame, that I viewed my country with the greatest indifference."

What kind of a cold frog he must have been. He is almost at her gate, it won't take him no more than a couple of days to try and get at leased an eye full of her, but no. He travels all over Europe, makes a number of touristic side steps, but does not even try to see his girl, his fure bride. And than he isn't even a real cold frog. He loves to be in the presence of woman and has high thoughts of how he will treat them. He plays the russian and we can wonder if he not did this to impress the muscovite ladies that didn't like foreigners. But how did he know that they preferred the company of russian man and what should he care, he had his own german bride, or didn't he? He is bored at a ball in Paris, while he can't dance, just as he had not been able to dance when he first saw the wonders of Hamburg, but there is no memory of his childhood sweetheart with whom he, years earlier, had learned this art. No memory of the joy they had in each others arms, or while together walking through the village afterwards. There is no sign in this journal that Minna ever crossed his mind, that he thought about her for even a minute. Was he really planning to marry her in 1846?

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548) Meyer Briefwechel I p. 112

549) Bahlcke, Wieland; Minna Meincke. Heinrich-Schliemann-Gesellschaft Ankershagen E.V. Informationsblatt Nr. 7, December 1996 p. 19.

The beginning of 1847

As stated before my investigation ends at the end of 1846, but the last pages of the travel journal are dated 1847 and so we will have a quick view at the beginning of this year. It seems that it didn't really start off as well as Schliemann had hoped. Something went wrong. I don't know exactly what, but I have the feeling that it was the deal with Alexcejeff. It seems the Schliemann's arrogance had played him a trick. On February 13, 1847 he received the following remarks from Hamburg.:

"The day before yesterday I received your letter from January 20 together with the enclosed for Amsterdam and yesterday the one from January 21, also in the old style and see to my regret of your deceived illusions concerning your connection with W[ladimir] Alexejeff, however it does not really surprise me, I had expected it more or less from the beginning, as you will have noticed during your stay here, when I tolled you that I had founded doubts about your chimera. You have absolutely no knowledge of people or the world, speak and promise to much and always fall for mad ideas, that can only exist in your imagination and never in reality. When you believe that you've reached your goal you become rude and arrogant to your friends, that only want the best for you and are really interested in you and tell you the truth as to make things clear to you and who try to educate you. ... I am absolutely certain that with W. A[lexejeff] you also have spoiled it your self and the same will, if you do not get wise, happen again to you a hundred times." 550)

And so Schliemann's return to Moscow was not really as happy as he had hopped it to be and on the last pages of his travel journal we can see what he did to get his spirits up again.

Le 15 Février 1847.

<291> Saddened by the accident that suddenly hit me in Moscow and hindered by the tiredness of the long trip, extreme boredom jumped me in my house to night. All theatres were closed thanks to the carnival. I went to the olympic circus of the alexandrian wars, who give there performances on the square in front of the large theatre. I was caught by admiration when I saw the suppleness and extreme dexterousness by which they showed there difficult exercises to the public,
<292> but what I personally liked best was that our emperor, Nicolaas I, honoured us with his appearance. The sovereign time and again applauded immediately when he saw a gracious posture or a movement that especially pulled his attention. Immediately a lightly dressed italian lady showed her possibilities on a horse. While the animal galloped she made pirouettes and other moves on it. Next came a small boy who was gifted
<293> with a special talent for suppleness and dexterousness in jumping on a horse, by which he, in an beautiful way, made unbelievable turns. He jumped in the air and turned

550) Meyer Briefwechsel I pp. 35-36. According to Meyer this letter is from J.W. Schröder in Hamburg. I don't know who J.W. should be. I have never seen this letter in original, but I expect that it must be of on of the partners of the Schröder Gebrüder in Hamburg.

totally around. He was followed by a lady, who gave a good performance, but did not surprise on the same level. After her came an english stableman, who stood on one leg on a horse that for some minutes hung slanting on a line. It is impossible to do this without
<294> a regular gallop of the horse. One placed in the centre of the circus a large pole, on which large and long ribbons were fastened, who were kept strait as a obstacle in the walk of the horses, but those jumped on them, some times before them, sometimes behind them, until they had reached the solid ground. To make the jumps harder again, they had to jump through wooden rings. Next a lady road a horse on the time of the music. The performance was finished with a tour through the tent.

Different Dates of the Dorothea Trip

	Official autobiography	Letter to the sisters	Ships protest
23/11		goes on board	
24/11			
25/11			left Hamburg
26/11			Blankenese
27/11			
28/11	left Hamburg	left Hamburg	Oost
29/11	Blankenese	Glückstadt	reach open sea
30/11		reach open sea	storm starts/Doggersbank
01/12	reach open sea		
02/12		storm starts	
03/12			
04/12			
05/12			
06/12			
07/12			
08/12		Doggersbank	
09/12			
10/12			
11/12	shipwreck	shipwreck	shipwreck
12/12	Texel	Texel	Texel

The Dates of the European Trip

Schliemann's travel journal is, as we have seen, not a diary. Most entries were written days after they had happened. While doing this Schliemann made a couple of mistakes with his dates. I will give here a list of what probably were the real dates.

Sunday	27/09	12.00 Departure from Moscow
Monday	28/09	Arrival in St. Petersburg
Tuesday	29/09	
Wednesday	30/09	Obtained his passport
Thursday	01/10	15.00 Departure from St. Petersburg
		18.00 Arrival in Croonstadt
Friday	02/10	
Saturday	03/10	
Sunday	04/10	In the afternoon has a view of Gothland
Monday	05/10	22.00 Arrival in Travemunde Travels on to Lübeck
Tuesday	06/10	8.00 Departure from Lübeck 14.00 Arrival in Hamburg
Wednesday	07/10	On p. 37 Schliemann tells us that the seventh was a Monday
Thursday	08/10	
Friday	09/10	17.00 Departure from Hamburg
Saturday	10/10	9.00 Arrival in Bremen 16.00 Departure from Bremen
Sunday	11/10	
Monday	12/10	
Tuesday	13/10	11.00 Arrival in Arnhem 13.30 Arrival in Amsterdam
Wednesday	14/10	"The next morning I went to the counting house at nine and, although it was a sunday,..." p. 70 "The following day, monday the 14/26 October, ..." p. 71 The sunday of p. 70 is a day that is not to be found on the calendar.
Thursday	15/10	
Friday	16/10	
Saturday	17/10	
Sunday	18/10	
Monday	19/10	
Tuesday	20/10	
Wednesday	21/10	
Thursday	22/10	
Friday	23/10	

Saturday	24/10	
Sunday	25/10	
Monday	26/10	
Tuesday	27/10	Schliemann travels from
Amsterdam to Rotterdam		
Wednesday	28/10	In the morning departure from
Rotterdam		
Thursday	29/10	9.00 Arrival at Blackwall
Station		
Friday	30/10	12.30 Departure from London
		22.45 Arrival at Liverpool
Saturday	31/10	At p. 93 Schliemann tells us
that this is a Saturday, from this		moment on the dates of the
journal go hand in hand with the		calendar.
Sunday	01/11	
Monday	02/11	12.30 Departure from
Liverpool for Manchester		
Tuesday	03/11	ca. 15.00 Arrival back in
Liverpool		
Wednesday	04/11	9.00 Arrival in Manchester
Thursday	05/11	Short stop in Birmingham.
		21.00 Arrival in London
Friday	06/11	
Saturday	07/11	
Sunday	08/11	p. 146 "The next day,
November 15, was a sunday"		
Monday	09/11	
Tuesday	10/11	
Wednesday	11/11	
Thursday	12/11	Windsor Castle
Friday	13/11	
Saturday	14/11	16.00 Departure from London
		17.30 Arrival in Brighten
Sunday	15/11	8.00 Arrival in Dieppe
Monday	16/11	6.00 Departure from Dieppe
		15.00 Arrival in Havre
Tuesday	17/11	21.00 Departure from Havre
Wednesday	16/11	6.00 Arrival in Rouan, travels
on to Elbeuf		
		19.00 Arrival in Paris
Thursday	19/11	
Friday	20/11	
Saturday	21/11	Versaille
Sunday	22/11	
Monday	23/11	
Tuesday	24/11	
Wednesday	25/11	
Thursday	26/11	
Friday	27/11	9.00 Departure from Paris
		21.15 Arrival in Brussels
Saturday	28/11	11.30 Departure for Antwerp

		16.30 Departure for Brussels
Sunday	29/11	7.00 Departure from Brussels
		18.00 Arrival in Keulen
		22.00 Departure from Keulen
Monday	30/11	8.30 Arrival in Koblenz

Appendix

As to show how cleaver Schliemann must have been when he learned the russian language all by him self, I like to quote the second and third chapter of Cuey-Na-Gael (Rev. Dr. J. Irwin Brown); An Irishman's Difficulties with the Dutch Language. [551]) This is the story of a certain O'Neil from Trinity College in Dublin, who tells his friends about the adventures he had while learning Dutch, all by him self, in the Hague.

Chapter II <Grammar and Phrase Book>
"Well", said O'Neill with a kind of sickly smile, "Ididn't get so very much time, you see, either for the Literature or for the Language. Of course there was much sight-seeing, and - I spent a good deal of time over the pictures, which -" The Philosopher shut his eyes, heaved and audible sigh, but said nothing. "And," continued Jack hastily, without seeming to notice the interruption, "my efforts to speak Dutch were not always appreciated." "Really?" said the First Year's Man, with sudden interest. "Go on," said the Professor, "now you're started." "You soon left your hotel for lodgings?" I added enquiringly. "Well, you see", he resumed, "Iwas afraid I'd never pick up the language. There is no chance of practicle unless you get away from everybody that speaks English. That was not too easy, I tell you. But Enderby helped me, and we searched about The Hague for two whole days. At last we found perfectly charming rooms opposite a canal; the landlady didn't know a word of English. She knew Dutch, though, all right. Fluent, did you say? I should think she was. A perfect marvel. No need of the dictionary, you know. - Verbs all in their proper places - and plenty of them! Enderby told her all I required, and then went away. It was like being thrown into the sea, as you may guess; but I imagined I should soon learn to swim. There's nothing like being cast completely on your own resources, they say. Still it was a bit awkward at coffee-time, when the landlady came up and talked. She poured forth a rapid and resistless stream of friendly Dutch upon me, while I nodded in the intervals and tried to think. It was a very one-sided business. I was very hungry, too, and wanted luncheon. Now there was abundance of this unequal kind of conversation, but no lunch in sight, so I - (remember I knew only ja [yes] and neen [no], and was not very sure of them, either) - I just pointed gracefully to my lips to indicate that I needed food. That produced an immediate effect - a torrent of eloquence forcibly delivered and ending with some enquiry about *biting!* I shook my head and said "Neen, neen! You put it too crudely - luncheon - eat - eat." " O ja [Oh yes]" she replied, "best. Eten - eten om vijf uur - vijf. [good. Diner - diner at five o'clock]." And she held out one hand with the fingers spread. It seemed to me she was swearing, there was enough food in the house to satisfy a hungry Irishman. " Good - so far," I returned. "Ja, ja!" "En mijnheer wil niet ontbijten? [And the gentleman does not want to breakfast?] she rejoined. This was the biting again, so I said decidedly, "Neen, niet bijten [No, not biting]". She seemed surprised and a little hurt; but she said nothing and went away. And of course I had to fast until five o'clock. This would never do, I felt; and that evening I bought the first grammar and dictionary I could lay my hands on at a second-hand bookstall in the Binnenhof [552]). They

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551) Rotterdam 1908 pp. 6-21

552) Square in the Hague.

were antique looking volumes, most of them there; and my books had a remarkably ancient aspect. But I was glad to find that I had completed the purchase of them without using one word of English. How ? Oh, the method's very simple. You pick out some big book you don't want, and hold it up interrogatively. You can hold up a book interrogatively, you know, with a little practice. Well, you lift some rubbishy, bulky volume that you wouldn't be paid to put in your library, and you give it a sort of enquiring wave in front of the vendor of these second-hand goods, and the vendor immediately understands your picturesque query to be, "How much?" He answers promptly, and you as promptly drop the rubbishy fat volume, as if it was a scorpion: you sigh resignedly, raise your eyebrows and walk away disgusted. That is the first step. That is to give him respect for your intelligence and to indicate your willingness to negociate on reasonable terms. The next step is different. You linger with an air of disdain at the tail-end of the bookstall; and, as an after-thought - just as you are moving off - you halt a moment and flick the particular work you do happen to want, with a careless forefinger or the piont of your walking-stick. At once the man talks, and you say "Neen". He talks more. You say, "Neen, neen" and shake your head sadly. He talks still more, and gesticulates excitedly with the book in his hand. You wait till he stops for breath, then suddenly interject "Ja, best", taking care to put down a large silver coin, - and the article is yours! The negotiation is over; and all you have to do is to gather up your purchase and a quantity of small silver and copper coins that you get as change. Then with a little patience at home and some arithmetic you can count out - approximately- how much the thing have cost you. That's the way you buy second-hand books." "I had no idea, Jack, you had such a genius for diplomacy," I murmured, as O'Neill evidently expected us to say something. "Or for finance," added the First Year's Man. "Did your medieval purchases do all for you that you expected?" enquired the Philosopher. "Well, hardly," said Jack. "After my first success I somewhat underestimated the difficulties of the idiom. But I worked hard at the grammar." "Ah! a grammar?" interrupted the Professor. "Did you say you acquired a Grammar? I am interested. Culd you manage to describe those volumes now, if it's not too great a strain?" "Oh, the books!" resumed O'Neill. "Well - there was a little fat Dictionary, closely printed, with Dutch into English and English into Dutch; and there was a handsome new Phrase-book in brilliant colours, containing conversations on the most unlikely topics. But I admit the Grammar Exercise-book was the gem of the collection. It was printed on a kind of dusky paper, something like blotsheet, and it bore the date 1807. It had six hundred and thirty-one exercises, double ones, Dutch into English and English into Dutch - and contained many idioms, hints, exceptions, and explanations. In warnings, foot-notes, and asterisks it was particularly rich. Not a few pages were ornamented with Nota Bene's [mark you] of various brands, with hands, large and small, drawing attention to them. The English of this manual was very odd; and by and by I got the impression the Dutch was rather shaky too. Not that I guessed this at first; you may be sure; but it gradually dawned upon me. I took a certain pride in my treasures, and set about studying them with zeal. No doubt it was disappointing just at the beginning to read: Nota Bene - No one but a Dutchman can emit this sound; or this: N.B. *.*.*. This sound must be heard. It is something like U but cannot be otherwise described. It cannot be represented by any known letters. Foreigners need not try it." But I skipped over these obstacles, mastered the verbs 'to be' and 'to have' in their elements, got an idea of the way to construct plurals and diminutives, and went to sleep content. Next morning after breakfast - which by the bye came up all right, without any special effort on my part -, remembering yjat I needed pens and ink, I determined to go out and buy them myself. Have you pens? Give me pens, please. Thank you. That is all I seemed to require. Have you? Well; that is not so simple as it looks. I consulted the Grammar, and was appalled to see the amazing variety of choice afforded to any one in Holland who contemplated asking this innocent question.

hebt gij	hebt U	hebt gij(lieden)
hebtge	heeft U	
heb je	heeft UEdele	
heb jij	heeft Ue	
	heeft Ués	

I looked carefully at this curious form. Yes, wherever it occured, there were marks of parenthesis tied round the (lieden). How was I to pronounce those brackets? The vowels and the usual consonants I had learnt atready were very trying. But what about those marks? Did they denote a cough, or a sneeze, or gentlemanly tap of your foot on the ground? On the whole I thought I should best represent them by two graceful waves of the hand - one for each bracket.

hebt gij(lieden) with brackets carefully fenced round the (lieden)
hebt jullie
hebt jelui

I counted them over. There are twelve ways of saying Have you in Dutch. That was distinctly suggestive, it seemed to me at the first brush, of the twelve month of the year. You could begin in January with Hebt gij, in February you would have Hebt ge, and so you could work on through the month, keeping your grammar and your chronology going, side by side, through the seasons till you eould emerge safely near Christmas with Heb jelui. This theory was not without its attractions. But what would happen in passing, say, from June to July, if you forgot what day of the month it was? If it was July the first and you imagined it was June the thirtieth, you would be talking bad grammar ! No: that would never do. My brilliant conjecture had soon to be abandoned as fanciful; and I was very sorry. But the facts of the case were dead against the obvious chronological arrangement, through they were by no means easily grasped. There were asterisks and foot-notes to all these zodiacal forms; and a great deal of solid reading had to be gone through before you got at the relative value of any particular term. The erudition was distracting, and the warnings were positively alarming; but after much painstaking investigation I seemed to perceive three grand principles emerging." "Yes?" we all said together, as O'Neill paused for breath. "And these were?-" "In the first place," resumed Jack deliberately, checking off the principles upon his fingers, I. "Never say je or jij to a man unless you mean to insult him." II. In the seconed place, je and jij may be freely used on all occasions, if you only know how. "But," said the First Year's Man, "you just said that ...." "And," continued O'Neill firmly, not heeding the interruption, "and you may use the Third Person of the verb for the Second and the Second for the third; and you may use a Plural for a Singular and a Singular for a Plural; and you may use U for UE, and UE for UEdele; you use jij for je, and je for ge, and ge for gij, and you use jullie for gij(lieden) with brackets round the lieden; but no one ever does say gij(lieden) with brackets round the lieden, except in poetry; and nobody in any circumstances ever uses UEdele except when dining with members of the Royal Family. Then you are allowed to utter this vocable once, and must maintain a discreet silence during the rest of the repast." "Where do you get all that rubbish?" I asked in disgust, "Boyton and Brandnetel," he answered glibly. "page 52." "At least," he added, "it was something like that. That gives you a good general idea of the thing." "When you are quite done with Boyton," said the Professor slowly, "when your education's finished, you know, I'll make you a reasonably high offer for that book. Boyton would relieve the tedium of my philological studies, I can see." "Perhaps," interposed the First Year Incorrigible, "perhaps Mr. O'Neill's accuracy was all used up in his Artistic Studies. That would leave none for the grammar." "That's a nice way to put it," said the Philosopher, "Please curb your imagination, O'Neill; stick as near to probability as you can - without too great pain to yourself - and we'll not be hard upon you. Wasn't there a third clear principle that emerged in the course of your investigations?" "Oh, yes," said O'Neill with some show of caution,

"as nearly as I can remember, it was this: III. Never say jou; and avoid UE except in correspondence. You are warned against any approach to familiarity in the use of pronouns. The courteous form is UEdele. Gij more respectful than jij. Je is a term of endearment. " But," objected the First Year's Man, "it doesn't seem to hang together, for you said just now -" "No debating allowed," growled the Philosopher. "Hurry up, O'Neill, with those general principles." "Oh, that's all of them," said Jack, "all at present." "Well, to resume my story, I picked out the most harmless of the have you's, and was proceeding to work out the formula for 'Have you pens', when to my consternation my eye fell on a dreadful warning, a kond of threat.
N.B. Important! - The foreigner is distinctly given to understand that he must commit to memory some polite phrases before engaging in conversation (see page 201) and study the chief sentences of a good phrase book. All pronouns savouring of familiarity are to be carefully avoided.

Chapter III <The Recitations in the Wood>
You may be sure that made me rather diffident till I had mastered some of these 'polite phrases'. Polite they were, and no mistake - why, French was nothing to it ! - and I gat the very nicest of them well into my head. I went round to Enderby's, and he put me on the way of pronouncing the words. Then I took a whole morning in Het Bosch [553]) and recited them to myself aloud. When no one was in sight I allowed myself some freedome of utterance; and once I thought I must have startled with my ore rotundo an artist who was plying his harmless calling unseen behind a clump of trees. At least some one retired very hastily after I had delivered "Doe zooveel moeite niet [Do not trouble your self] three times with a vigorous rising inflection and four times with the falling inflection, followed in each case by the rhetorical pause. From the deserted easel I judged it must have been an artist. He withdrew at a good pace and never once looked back. These and similar polite idioms I repeated over some hundreds of times, till I knew them backwards and forwards and every way, and could have rattled them off in my sleep. Then there was some difficulty in avoiding the policemen in the wood. They kept prowling about after I had incautiously experimented on the first one with "Mijnheer, ik wensch u goeden morgen; ik hoop dat ik U niet stoor. Vaarwel! [Sir, I wish you a good morning; I hope I do not disturb you. Good-bye]" He had looked amazed at this; so as a parting shot - a sort of coureteous Good Bye - I added gaily. "Ik bid U, maak geen complimenten [Please be so kind and make me no compliments]." It was this that made the trouble, as he looked distinctly displeased, not to say suspicious. When he heard the words first, he had stood speechless, transfixed. Then he followed me home and hung about the street - I could see him from my window - for over half an hour. I feared my pronouns had been too familiar, though I couldn't see how to change them, for they were there in the book. On the whole I concluded I had been a trifle abrupt, and with renewed vigour I set to and committed a host of apologetic phrases such as: "Ik bid U, verschoon mij. Duizendmaal vergiffenis. Het heeft niets te beduiden. [I do pray please pardon me. I ask you a thousand times for forgiveness. It is un important]." It was a little puzzling to disentangle some of the courteous introductions from the sentences in which they stood; and occasionally I committed to memory somewhat more than I needed. This was the case with a sentence that greatly took my fancy. It was an apology to an imaginary gentleman in a tram-car for having trodden on his foot. It seemed odd to provide yourself so soon for such contingency; but of course the book knew best. Well, from constantly seeing the two parts of this sentence together I got into the way mechanically of associating the one phrace with the other. Thus when repeating that engaging expression "Duizend maal vergiffenis", I was accustomed to follow it up by "dat ik op Uw teen heb getrapt [that I stood on your toe]," either in my own mind or audibly,

553) "Het Haagse Bosch", a park in the Hague

for the sake of practice. From the first this polite sentence was a great favorite of mine, and I was soon able to repeat it with the utmost fluency and ease. So well did I know it, indeed, after two day's practice that I was tempted to seek occasion for its use; and in getting into the tram-car I was half disposed to brush, accidentally as it were, against any gentleman in the way for the sake of working off my courteous apology. But that sort of thing has unexpected consequences; and I came to the conclusion that it is more philosophic to learn too little than to learn too much. Ne quid nimis, you know."

While trying to learn Dutch, from his second hand books, Jack O'Neill ran constantly into trouble. Now Schliemann told us that after about six weeks he was able to write a letter in russian. Our irish friend tried more or less the same thing with a letter in dutch and so, to finish this all of I give you part of Chapter XII [554]) Jack O'Neill has had a visitor who has left his umbrella.

.... I wrote the letter first in English; then st about translating it, as elegantly as I could, into Dutch. Here is the English - quite friendly, you see.

Dear Sir,

As you left your umbrella behind on Thursday morning when you did me the honour to call, I beg to send it to you by bearer, in the hope that it may reach you safely without delay.

Trusting that its absence may have occaisioned you no inconvenience, I remain, dear sir,

Very truly yours,
Jack O'Neill.

As a beginning, the phrase-book gave Hooggeachte Heer and Hoogedelgestrenge Heer and many more very official-looking titles. It gave 'mijnheer' for 'sir'; but for 'dear sir' nothing at all. Seeing, however, that 'dear' was lief [sweet] or dierbaar [beloved], I could easily make out a form of friendly address: -'Dierbare mijnheer [Beloved Sir]' or briefly 'Dierbaar'. It was a toss up, indeed whether to take the stiff title Hooggeachte[Esteemed] Heer (for Hoogedelgestrenge [Right Honourable] Heer seemed too much of a good thing for a note about an umbrella) or this more affectionate but somewhat doubtful Dierbaar! I finally decided on a combination, one at the beginning and one at the end. I sailed along quite comfortably until I arrived at his 'doing me the honour to call'. This required hammering out; and when I had tortured myself a long time over it, here is what I got: 'wanneer gij mij vereerder door het bij mij eene visite afleggen [when you my honouring by laying of a visit with me]' Dreadfully round-about, you perceive! So I just fell back upon brevity, and trusted to luck to carry me safely through. 'Op mij te roepen [on calling me]' sounded terse and likely; and I chose it to avoid worse pitfalls with door [through] and the infinitive. As I 'I beg' had a brusque ring, I made it a trifle mellower and more courteous by the helpful and familiar 'verschoon mij [I beg you pardon]'. 'Verschoon mij' dat ik bedel [I beg you pardon that I beg]'; I could not improve on that. But the proper division of 'overhandigen [deliver]' into its component parts was not easy. To get the right 'hang' of this sentence, I forcibly detached the 'over', and dragged this harmless voorzetsel [preposition] well forward so as not to impede the action of its own particular verb, when you got so far. This much improved the rhythm; and I gave myself some freedom in the phrasing to keep up the style. Indeed, after all, two or three bits of phrases could be worked in. "Goedige aanblikken [Good-natured glances]' caught my eye somewhere. I was delighted to have a kind of equivalent for kind regards; and eschewing the temptation to deviate into 'zuiverlijk [purely, clearly]' for

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554) Cuey-Na-Gael pp. 100-104. Since this book is written in English and broken dutch one has to be bilingual to really understand it. As to make it readable for non dutch speakers I have translated O'Neill's (broken) dutch in (broken) english and can only hope that the joke survived ny treatment.

sincerely. or 'vertrouwelijk [familiar, intimate, confidential]' for faithfully, I finished with simple directness using 'waarachtig [true, real]' for truly. This I afterwards thought of changing to waarempeltjes [really?] as being less formal. Finally, to give a neat turn to the whole, I dropped in a sentence from the conversation-manual, so as to refer with a light but artistic touch to the broiling weather. Thus the finished product assumed the following form [I will only give it's translation]:

Esteemed Sir!

Since that thou in my hall latest Thursday morning your umbrella has forgotten, on the date that thou did me the honour as to call on me and laid of a visit, I beg you pardon that I beg the abandoned object politely to pass on to your honourable by the carrier of this letter.

I noticed not firstly that the umbrella was yours; so I trust that you will pardon me all the sorrow that his absence may have caused.

How glorious that the favourable weather of yesterday and lately steadily stays! I hope whole heartedly that you gloriously enjoy of it.

Cherishing the hope that your umbrella without delay will reach you good and well,

I remain
beloved,
with good-natured glances,
truly yours,
Jack O'Neill.

Unfortunately Schliemann's first russian letters seem not to have survived and so it's impossible to say anything about them.

Contents

Preface	iii
A child of the romantic era	5
An exercise in reading and logic	13
Schooldays	19
The first steps into the world	23
Hamburg	27
How fathers prophecy came true	29
Adventures at high-sea	39
Amsterdam	57
With a little protection	61
Multatuli	71
Atale of hard times	75
Doing the impossible	81
B.H. Schröder & Co.	93
Ludwig Schliemann	101
Working in a changing world	105
In search of his own wings	109
Schröder Amsterdam, Schliemann St. Petersburg	117
About Bimas Sapan and Cochineal	123
Who knows, maybe there is money in Camphor	131
The other is always wrong	135
The Privat letters of the Boss	139
What Schliemann earned in 1846	143
About some very unpleasant business	147
Without having seen the Queen or her spouce, Prince Albert	151
The return trip	228
Minna Meincke	231
The beginning of 1847	235
Different Dates of the Dorothea Trip	237
The Dates of the European Trip	238
Appendix	241

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